THE TRANSFORMATION OF A NEIGHBORHOOD: RANSOM PLACE HISTORIC DISTRICT, INDIANAPOLIS, 1900-1920

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INTRODUCTION

Between 1900 and 1920, the population of what is now the Ransom Place Historic District in Indianapolis, Indiana, changed from an 86-percent white majority to a 96-percent African-American majority.[1] This study examines the demographic transformation of this six-block area of the capital city over a period of twenty years. Similar changes occurred in cities throughout the United States as a growing urban African-American population faced increasing residential segregation in older neighborhoods and exclusion from newer, outlying suburbs.

The study uses the boundaries of the present-day historic district to define its scope (see Map 1). Ransom Place was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1992 for its significance in the history of the city's African-American community.[2] At the turn of the twentieth century, the population of the historic district and its surrounding ward had a white majority. Since the nineteenth century, however, this area between the Central Canal and the White River had a larger percentage of black residents than did other parts of the city. In this paper I will focus on the African-American residents and discuss Ransom Place within the context of the

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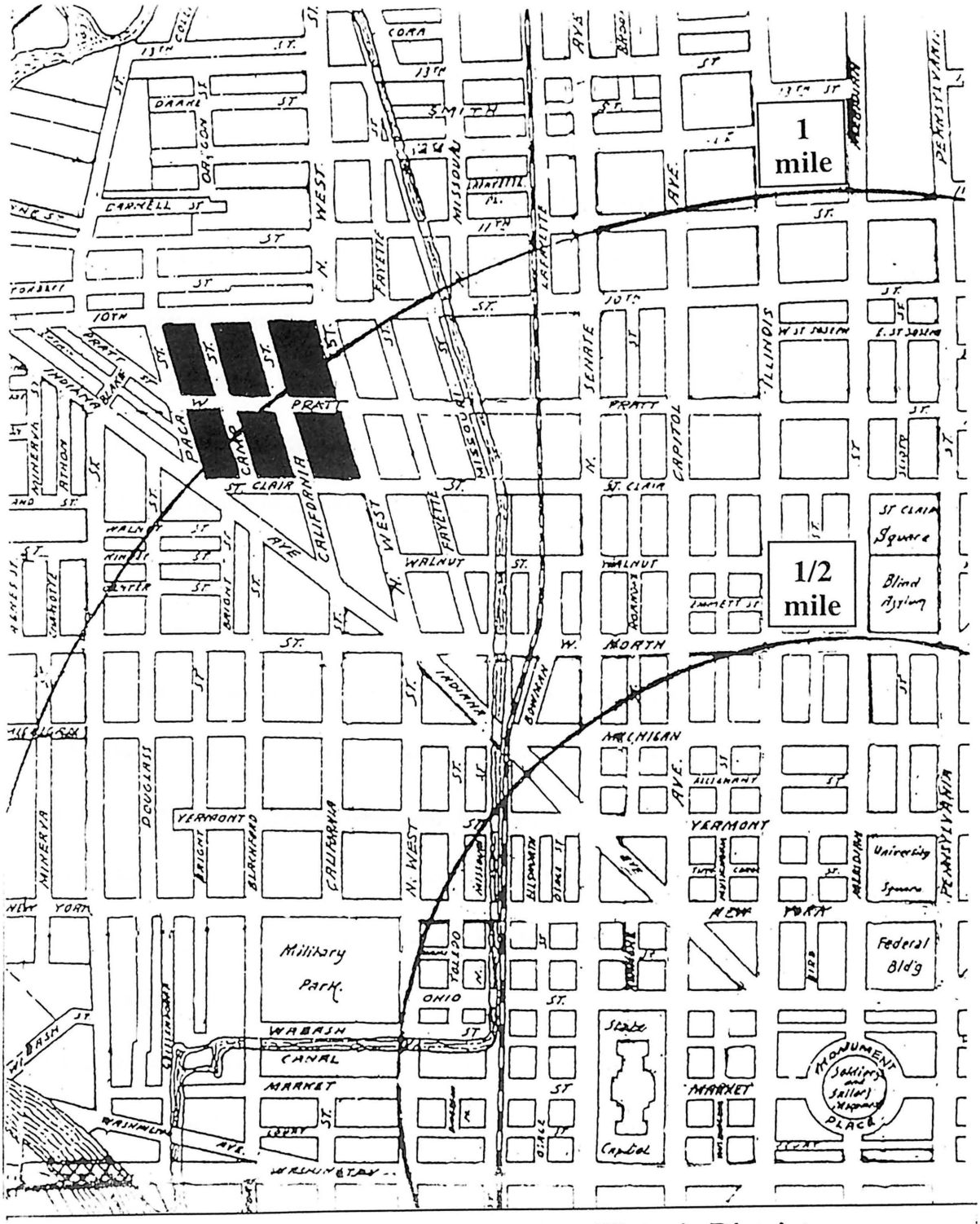
[1] United States Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Schedules of the 1900 Population Census for Enumeration District [E.D.] 88; Manuscript Schedules of the 1910 Population Census for E.D. 96; Manuscript Schedules of the 1920 Population Census for E.D. 105, Marion County, Indiana, microfilm (Indiana State Library, Indianapolis). Unless otherwise stated, all information on the residents of Ransom Place comes from these records.

[2] "Ransom Place" is a somewhat anachronistic name, since the neighborhood was not called this until 1991. Freeman B. Ransom (1882-1947), after whom the district was named, was an African-American attorney and the general manager of the Walker Manufacturing Company, a cosmetics firm founded by Madam C.J. Walker. Ransom moved to Indianapolis around 1910. The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), s.v. "Ransom, Freeman Briley;" "Ransom Place;" Suzanne Rollins, "Ransom Place Historic District," Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, 1992 (on file at the Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, Indiana Department of Natural Resources, 402 W. Washington Street, Indianapolis, Indiana 46204).



Map 1: Location of Ransom Place Historic District

District boundaries are West (now Dr. M.L. King), Tenth, St. Clair, and Paca streets.

Source: Map from Polk's City Directory for Indianapolis, 1909. (Radius lines measured from center of Monument Place.)

experience of African Americans in Indianapolis. I will use the terms "neighborhood" and "Ransom Place" to refer specifically to the six blocks of the historic district.

Today Ransom Place represents a surviving fragment of what was once a larger community. By the 1920s, increased residential segregation limited the housing choices of African Americans to older sections of the city. As the black population grew, neighborhoods that had once been integrated or predominantly white became predominantly black. The increase and concentration of the African-American population led to the growth of black businesses and community organizations, especially around Indiana Avenue. Black-run shops, restaurants, and theaters opened to meet the needs of African-American residents, whom white business owners often refused to serve.

After the end of prohibition in 1933, the increase in jazz and dance clubs on and around Indiana Avenue earned it a national reputation as the site of some of the largest black music venues, attracting famous jazz bands from around the country. The Indiana Avenue "jazz scene" thrived through the 1940s, but by 1950s, with the slackening of the segregation practices that had kept African Americans confined to certain parts of the city, the Avenue began to decline. Many of the wealthier black residents moved out of the area, leaving their poorer neighbors behind. Jazz clubs now proliferated in white sections of the city as well, and the clubs and businesses along the Avenue began to close down.[3]

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[3] Amy H. Wilson, "The Swing Era on Indiana Avenue: A Social and Cultural History of Indianapolis' African-American Jazz Scene, 1933-1950" (Indiana University, Indianapolis, M.A. thesis in progress, expected January 1996); Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, "Ransom Place."

Little physical evidence now remains of this once thriving black residential and commercial area, and only pockets of historic structures, such as the Ransom Place neighborhood, exist today. Many African-American landmarks such as the Senate Avenue Y.M.C.A., the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A., and the Sunset Terrace night club have been demolished.[4] The construction of the interstate (I-65) and the campus of Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis (IUPUI) also destroyed many of the residences surrounding Ransom Place.[5] Even in the historic district itself, numerous empty lots mark the sites of razed houses.

The Ransom Place Historic District survives today in part because it was the home of a number of prominent African Americans, and as such, its residents may not represent a cross-section of the African-American population of Indianapolis in the early twentieth century. Perhaps future researchers will be able to place the residents of Ransom Place in the broader context of all residents of the surrounding Indiana Avenue area during this period. Time constraints prevented me from carrying out work of this scope.

Using the federal manuscript census records for 1900, 1910 and 1920, I created

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[4] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for 1914 and 1914 updated to 1950s, Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, s.v. "Phyllis Wheatley YWCA"; "Senate Avenue YMCA"; Ransom Place Neighborhood Association brochure, "Heritage Tourism Corridor," 1995. The Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. building (dedicated 1929) stood at 653 North West Street and was demolished in 1983 when the street was widened. The Senate Avenue Y.M.C.A. building (1913) stood on the southwest corner of Michigan Street and Senate Avenue. The organization moved in 1959 and became the Fall Creek Y.M.C.A. The Sunset Terrace stood on the corner of Indiana Avenue and Blake Street.

[5] Charles Hardy, "IUPUI: The Evolution of an Urban University," oral history interviews by Philip V. Scarpino and Sheila Goodenough, October 16, 1989, October 22, 1989, and January 3, 1990 (transcription on file in IUPUI archives). Starting in 1962, Hardy oversaw the purchase of land for the IUPUI campus and the relocation of area residents. The Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for 1914 shows blocks of residences in the area that is now the IUPUI campus and the interstate.

a database of information on the neighborhood's residents that forms the basis for this paper. The selection of these three census years was dictated by the availability of records. The manuscript census for 1890 no longer exists, and that for 1930 will not be open to the public until 2002.

The time period covered by this study will fill in a chronological gap in the history of the area. Most studies written on this part of Indianapolis have focused on the nineteenth century, especially the year 1870, or on the period after 1920 when nearby Indiana Avenue peaked as the cultural and business center of the African-American community in Indianapolis. Most of the residents who have participated in oral history recordings remember the neighborhood from these later decades.[6]

This paper was written to provide background information for the Ransom Place Neighborhood Association, as it works to develop a Heritage Learning Center, and for the Center for Archaeology in the Public Interest at IUPUI, which plans to excavate in Ransom Place. I will give a copy of this thesis and a print-out of the database records to both organizations.

The terms used to describe "race" have changed over time. In this paper, I use

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[6] Amy E. Glowacki, "Old Ward Four, Indianapolis, 1870: A Comparison of the Adult, Male African-American and White Populations" (M.A. thesis, Indiana University, Indianapolis, 1994); Glowacki, "Research for Freetown Village: Old Ward Four, Indianapolis, 1870" (unpublished report, 1992, on file at Indiana Historical Society Library); Willard B. Ransom, "The Lawyers' Perspective," oral history interview by Michelle Hale, 1991 (transcription BV2620, Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis); Wilson, "A Social History of the Indiana Avenue Jazz Scene, 1930-1950." Wilson will deposit her oral history interviews with African-American and white musicians in the IUPUI archives. Jean Spears of the Ransom Place Neighborhood Association, 830 Dr. M.L. King, Jr. Street, has also recorded interviews with residents of the neighborhood and surrounding area.

"African-American" and "black" interchangeably to refer to people of African descent.[7] (These same people might also have ancestors who came from Europe.) Black-run newspapers of the time, such as the Indianapolis Recorder, used "Negro," "colored," and "Afro-American." The category "white" also covered a variety of ethnic groups from Europe and the Middle East. In Ransom Place, white residents were both native- and foreign-born, primarily of German, English, Scottish, and Irish descent.

The census records that form the basis of this study categorize the residents of Ransom Place as "black," "mulatto," or "white," depending primarily on the census taker's perception of an individual's ethnic origins. In 1900, the census taker was an African-American man who lived in the neighborhood, but the enumerators in 1910 and 1920 seem to have been white and did not live in the blocks they canvassed (see Appendix A). In 1900, the census instructions defined "black" as "negro or of negro descent," and the category "mulatto" was not used that year. In 1910 and 1920, "black" described people who were "evidently full-blooded negroes," and "mulatto" referred to "all other persons having some proportion or perceptible trace of negro blood."[8]

The words "evidently" and "perceptible trace" suggest that this information was determined by a visual inspection on the part of the census enumerator rather than by

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[7] Six black residents had been born outside the United States in either Canada or the Caribbean. Of these, two were born American citizens, three were naturalized citizens, and one had filed her intent to naturalize.

[8] The other racial categories used in the census were "Chinese," "Japanese," "Indian," and "other." 200 Years of U.S. Census Taking: Population and Housing Questions, 1790-1990 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1989), 41, 50.

asking people. For my analysis of the data, I have combined the categories of "black" and "mulatto" because African-American residents were only enumerated in the one category in 1900, and because the distinction between "black" and "mulatto" seemed to be even more subjective than did that between "black" and "white." At least two residents in the neighborhood, however, were enumerated as "black" in 1910 and "white" in 1920.

Although "race" can be an ambiguous categorization, perceived racial differences are at the core of the transformation of the Ransom Place neighborhood. Certain residents of Indianapolis could not move into particular neighborhoods because of the color of their skin. Economic factors played some part in where African-American residents could chose to live, since black men and women had historically been in the lower income brackets and so could only afford to live in certain areas, but race influenced this as well, because discriminatory hiring practices limited the occupations open to African Americans. By the 1920s, members of the growing black middle-class found they could not settle in the same neighborhoods as their white counterparts.

Although I will provide some background on racial discrimination in Indianapolis and discuss the effects of racist beliefs on early twentieth-century real estate practices, this study focuses mainly on the people who lived in Ransom Place in 1900, 1910, and 1920 and on how the neighborhood population changed in twenty years. I will look at where residents came from originally and, to a limited degree, where they went when they moved out of the neighborhood. I will consider

differences and similarities between African-American and white residents in occupation and home ownership, as well as changes in these categories between 1900 and 1920. When possible I will put these topics in context by comparison with the population of Indianapolis in general or other studies of midwestern African-American urban history during this time period.

Chapter 1

BACKGROUND

The area that would become Ransom Place Historic District was settled in the second half of the nineteenth century. In her study of Old Ward Four in 1870, of which Ransom Place was a part, Amy Glowacki found that the population of the ward was that of a walking city with racially and economically integrated neighborhoods, where employees and employers usually lived in close proximity to their place of work.[1] By the turn of the twentieth century, with the growth of homogeneous suburbs, Indianapolis had become less of a walking city. Those who could afford to own a carriage or (increasingly after 1910) an automobile or to ride the streetcar could move farther away from the crowded center of the city. Neighborhoods with older homes, like Ransom Place, would probably have been less desirable to live in when new houses, with the modern conveniences of electricity and indoor plumbing, were situated away from the noise, pollution, and crowds associated with downtown businesses and industry.[2]

African-American residents of Indianapolis, however, often did not have these housing choices open to them. The increase in residential segregation in the early twentieth century will be discussed in the next chapter, but the changes in Ransom Place had their roots in the previous century, and race relations in twentieth-century Indianapolis must be seen in the context of nineteenth-century practices. This chapter

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[1] Glowacki, "Old Ward Four, Indianapolis, 1870," 7-17, 65.

[2] Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, s.v. "Overview: Transportation" by Ralph Gray.

looks at the growth of Ransom Place and race relations in Indianapolis at the turn of the century.

The Growth of Ransom Place

In the 1860s, the land between First Street (later Tenth), Indiana Avenue, and West Street was known as Meikel's Subdivision and Wiley's Addition. Charles P. and J. M. Meikel, both printers, and William Y. Wiley, a real estate broker, did not lay out the neighborhood's streets until after the Civil War. The Meikels platted their lots in 1865, and Wiley platted his in 1871.[3]

The neighborhood was soon settled, and by 1880, there were 110 households with 503 residents in what is now the Ransom Place Historic District.[4] The Sanborn insurance map for 1887 shows 122 dwellings, 6 stores, the Shiloh Colored Baptist Church, and the Caylor Ice Company Stables and Wagon Shed in the six-block area of the historic district. By the time of the next Sanborn map in 1898, the numbers had increased to 175 dwellings and 11 stores. The church had been replaced by a house, and the ice company's lots now held homes and a livery stable.[5]

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[3] Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, s.v. "Ransom Place"; Indianapolis City Directory for 1865 Published Annually by Hawes & Co. (Indianapolis 1865); Logan's Annual Indianapolis City Directory for 1868-69 (Indianapolis 1868); Bailey's Indianapolis City Directory, 1871-72 (Indianapolis 1871).

[4] Data from 1880 manuscript census in Cindy Steger, "Ransom Place Project: Preliminary Report" (report for Center for Archaeology in the Public Interest, IUPUI, 1993), 12.

[5] The Shiloh Baptist Church was on the northwest corner of California and Pratt streets. The Caylor Ice Company, located at 505 Pratt where the livery stable would be in 1898, was probably run by Allen Caylor of 832 North West Street. Sanborn Insurance Maps for Indianapolis, 1887, 1898 (Indiana State Library, Indianapolis).

Ransom Place would remain primarily a residential area. Almost all the stores were located at intersections or along West Street, which received traffic from the Northwestern (also called Michigan) Road, one of the main routes into the city. Most of the streets in the neighborhood remained unpaved into the twentieth century. By 1899, nearby Indiana Avenue was paved, but although the electric street railway ran up N. West Street, that road was not paved above North Street.[6]

There were still empty lots in the neighborhood in 1900, but the existing houses were packed tightly together, filling almost the entire width of a lot, and neighbors often had less than ten feet between their houses. Twenty of the residences were actually halves of duplexes, sharing walls with their neighbors. The houses sat on long, narrow lots, their front doors about ten to fifteen feet from the road. At the back of the lots ran alleys, and the stables and outhouses were built along these, as far away from the houses as possible. Almost all the houses in the neighborhood and surrounding area had wood-frame construction.[7] This remained true into the twentieth century.

Today, the parts of the Ransom Place Historic District that have escaped demolition retain this tightly packed residential pattern, with sheds and garages on the alleys replacing the stables and outhouses of earlier years. Several one-story "shotgun" cottages survive from the 1870s, as well as larger one-and-a-half and two-story homes

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[6] Topographical Map & Survey Co., "Bicycle and Driving Map of Indianapolis," 1899 (photostat, Indiana State Library).

[7] Sanborn map for 1898. I assumed that most of the empty lots on this map were vacant in 1900 as well because their addresses do not appear in the census for 1900 and a number of these lots were still empty on the Baist Real Estate Atlas map for 1908.

built in the 1880s and 1890s. Some Craftsman bungalows and American four-square homes from the early 1900s also remain, creating an architecturally diverse neighborhood that reflects the growth of Ransom Place into the twentieth century.[8]

Old Ward Four

Through most of the second half of the nineteenth century, Ransom Place was in Ward Four, one of the less desirable residential wards of Indianapolis because of its location between the White River and the Central Canal, in swampy land that bred mosquitoes and disease. The presence of the City Hospital only heightened the unhealthy reputation of the ward in a time when such buildings were sited with more concern for protecting city residents from the ill patients than for the well-being of the patients themselves.[9]

The land south and east of Ransom Place held a mixture of residences, businesses, and industries, including a paper mill, two meat markets, a machine works, and cotton and woolen goods manufactories. All these must have contributed to the smells and sounds of the ward, as did the freight railway lines that ran along the east side of the canal. The Central Canal itself was often used to dispose of garbage, and a

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[8] Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana, Indiana Historic Sites and Structures Inventory: Center Township, Marion County, Interim Report (Indianapolis: Historic Landmarks Foundation, 1991), 89-91.

[8] For further discussion of the unhealthiness of the area, see Glowacki, "Old Ward Four, Indianapolis, 1870," 25-30.

city ordinance in 1871 prohibited throwing animal carcasses into it between April 1 and November 1, when warm weather might increase the stench.[10]

The ward became home to those who could not afford to live in more healthful sections of the city. The black population of the ward grew as more African Americans arrived in Indianapolis after the Civil War. Most of these men and women came from southern states, in search of better opportunities for themselves and for their children.

In 1860, Indianapolis had 498 black residents, 2.5 percent of the city's population (see Table 1.1). The city's black population had grown very little since the passage of the 1851 state constitution that prohibited African Americans from settling in Indiana, but the state supreme court voided this restriction in 1866. By 1870, the African-American population had increased to 2,931 (6.1 percent), and it continued to grow in subsequent years. By 1900, Indianapolis had nearly 16,000 black residents, almost 10 percent of the city's population.[11] All the wards of the city had African-American inhabitants, but by 1890 Ward Four, which contained Ransom Place, and neighboring Ward Three each had a population that was 29 percent black, a higher percentage than that in any of the other 23 wards of the city.[12]

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[10] Glowacki, "Old Ward Four, Indianapolis, 1870," 9-10, 28-30; Glowacki, "Research for Freetown Village," 11-12, 17.

[11] Article XIII of the 1851 constitution of Indiana read, "No negro or mulatto shall come into or settle in the State." Emma Lou Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900: A Study of a Minority (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1957; reprint, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 53, 68, 206, 229.

[12] Ward boundaries listed in Polk's City Directory for Indianapolis, 1890. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Report on the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 456.

Race Relations in Indianapolis

In the late nineteenth century Ransom Place and surrounding areas were integrated neighborhoods with a predominantly white population, but many aspects of residents' everyday lives were segregated. This situation continued into the twentieth century. African-American children went to segregated elementary schools, and by the 1910s, they used segregated playgrounds as well.[13] Until the 1920s young African Americans who continued their education attended the predominantly white high

Table 1.1: African-American Population of Indianapolis, 1860-1900

Year	Black Population	% of Total Population	% Growth from Previous Census
1860	498	2.5%	18.7%
1870	2,931	6.1%	488.6%
1880	6,504	8.7%	121.9%
1890	9,133	8.7%	40.4%
1900	15,931	9.4%	74.4%

Source: Emma Lou Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900, 229. (Growth percentages calculated from these data.)

[13] When the playground movement got underway in the city, the Indianapolis Star reported that the playgrounds commissioner would not let black children onto the newly built playgrounds because three playgrounds were about to be opened specifically for them that would exclude white children. "Ignores Board's Order to Admit Colored Children," Indianapolis Star, June 14, 1912.

schools, but here, too, classroom seating and school activities were often segregated.[14] Once these black students graduated, they found many jobs closed to them because employers refused to hire African Americans.

Indiana's civil rights law of 1885 stated that places of public accommodation had to serve all people "regardless of color or race," but in practice many stores, restaurants, and hotels refused to serve African Americans or attempted to drive them away by charging them higher prices. Even some black proprietors were afraid of losing white customers by admitting members of their own race. George L. Knox, a prominent African-American barber and publisher of the Freeman, would only accept white customers in his barbershop, located in an Indianapolis hotel. When traveling outside of Indianapolis, African Americans had to plan their trips to avoid the towns believed to have "sundown ordinances" that prohibited black people from staying in the town after dark. (A study done in 1965 found that in the nineteen Indiana towns investigated none actually had such an ordinance written into the laws, but residents believed one existed and acted accordingly.)[15]

Discriminatory practices in Indianapolis appear to have increased by the end of the nineteenth century, as they did across the North. The growth of the African-American population certainly would have led to more encounters between black and

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[14] When Crispus Attucks High School opened in 1927, all African-American secondary school students were required to go there. Stanley Warren, "The Evolution of Secondary Schooling for Blacks in Indianapolis, 1869-1930," in Indiana's African-American Heritage: Essays from Black History News & Notes, ed. Wilma Gibbs (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1993), 30, 40.

[15] Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900, 226-227, 258-266, 340-341, 350; study on "sundown ordinances" cited in Robert A. Lowe, "Racial Segregation in Indiana, 1920-1950" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ball State University, 1965), 202.

white residents of the city and more situations that could result in incidents of discrimination. The census taken in 1900 showed that of the nine "principal cities of the North," Indianapolis was sixth when ranked by total number of African-American residents (see Table 1.2). When ranked by their percentage of the total population of the city, however, Indianapolis was second with 9.4 percent.[16] About one in ten residents of Indianapolis was black, compared to much larger cities such as New York and Chicago, where the proportion was about one in fifty.

The relatively high proportion of African-American residents also gave black voters a certain amount of political clout. Ray Stannard Baker, one of the pioneers of "muckraking" journalism during the Progressive Era, visited Indianapolis in the early 1900s while researching race relations in the United States because he "had heard so much of the political power of the Negroes there."[17] One of the indicators of this may have been the participation of African-American candidates in city elections. For example, two black residents of Ransom Place, John A. Puryear and Sumner A. Furniss, were elected to the city council.[18]

Indianapolis had three black-owned newspapers by 1900, the Freeman, the Recorder and the World, and before elections these weeklies filled up with political campaign advertisements. Successful politicians could offer jobs in return for electoral

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[16] Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900, 229n, 265.

[17] Ray Stannard Baker, Following the Color Line: American Negro Citizenship in the Progressive Era (Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908; reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 111. Baker interviewed both African-American and white residents in northern and southern cities and towns.

[18] "Noted Leader in Medicine and Masonry Passes," obituary for Sumner A. Furniss, Indianapolis Recorder, January 24, 1953; Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, s.v. "Puryear, John A.;" "Furniss, Sumner A." Puryear held office from 1892 to 1897, and Furniss served from 1917 to 1921.

Table 1.2: African-American Population in Principal Cities of the North, 1900

City	Black Population	% of Total Population
Philadelphia	62,613	4.8
New York	60,666	1.8
Chicago	30,150	1.8
Kansas City	17,567	10.7
Pittsburgh	17,040	5.3
Indianapolis	**15,931**	**9.4**
Cincinnati	14,482	4.4
Boston	11,591	2.1
Cleveland	5,988	1.6

Source: Emma Lou Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900, 229n.

support, and some residents of Ransom Place who worked for the government, such as policemen and firemen, may have benefited from political patronage. For example, Edward G. Sourbier, a white Republican candidate for county treasurer in 1916, reminded readers of the Recorder that he

> had appointed Miss Daneva W. Donnell as one of the stenographers in his office, the first Colored woman in the State of Indiana to be appointed in a public office. That the 9,000 Negro votes in Marion County will be solid for Sourbier as a token of sincere appreciation is a foregone conclusion.

Sourbier added that "Mr. Harry W. Jackson a young man of fine attainments was appointed Clerk . . . in the Treasurer's office" and concluded "REMEMBER: Sourbier has kept Faith with YOU."[19]

After the Civil War, most black voters in Indianapolis supported the Republican party, the "party of Lincoln," and this would remain true until the 1920s, when the Ku Klux Klan dominated the Republican organization in Indiana. The appointment of African Americans to jobs in government offices may have caused resentment among white Democrats who often accused the Republicans of "buying" black votes. African Americans were still a minority in the North and also found themselves in competition with white workers for jobs that had traditionally been dominated by black workers in the South. Richard Robert Wright, a clergyman who moved north from Augusta,

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[19] Daneva Donnell was a resident of Ransom Place in 1900, living at 709 W. Tenth Street. (The family was listed as Darnell in the census and Donnell in the city directory for that year.) By 1916, the Donnells had moved across the street to 710 W. Tenth and so technically were outside the boundaries of the historic district. Advertisement, Indianapolis Recorder, March 4, 1916; Polk's City Directory for 1900 and 1916; manuscript census records for 1900 (E.D. 88, sheet 1A, line 7).

Georgia, to Chicago in 1899, wrote about his surprise at seeing white laborers for the first time:

> I had seen hundreds and hundreds of gangs of black men working on railroads but I had never seen such a gang of white men. . . . It had never occurred to me that white men actually used the pick and shovel with no Negro Americans around to help them.[20]

African Americans who moved north hoping to escape the "Jim Crow" laws of the South found that many white residents of northern cities expected them to "keep in their place" and not "get above themselves." It is difficult now for us to understand the outrage with which many white residents viewed "inappropriate" behavior by African Americans. Even the simple act of riding in an elevator might be prohibited, as Charles Stewart learned in 1894 when he was forcibly ejected by a white elevator operator in an Indianapolis hotel. Because Stewart was an African-American newspaper publisher attending a Republican convention in that hotel, when he sued the establishment the proprietor settled out of court. In 1900, a black hairdresser, trying to attend her customer who was staying in a hotel, was less fortunate in a similar incident. The Marion County Superior Court accepted the argument that because the hairdresser was not a guest herself, she had no right to use the hotel's elevator.[21]

In 1892, John Puryear, an African-American businessman and resident of Ransom Place, was arrested for loitering while inquiring after a man for whom he had

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[20] Richard Robert Wright, quoted in James R. Grossman, Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 1-2.

[21] Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900, 262-264.

been asked to post bail. The Indianapolis World reported that when a patrolman ordered him to "move on,"

> Puryear explained that he was not doing anything in violation of law and order. This vexed the burly "fine man" and Puryear was collared, the patrol was called and he was sent to the station.

At the time Puryear was a city councilman, one of the first African Americans to hold that office, but despite his position he was convicted and fined. In an incident several months later, however, another policeman received a fine of one dollar for beating a black man, George Heywood, with a mace after arresting him. The World praised the decision of Justice Daniels, which "was in accord with both law and humanity."[22]

The writer in the World had concluded optimistically: "One by one the barriers are burned away and we may yet live to see the day when all men shall be considered and treated equal"--a wish that would remain unfulfilled into the twentieth century.[23] Between 1865 and 1903 at least twenty African Americans were lynched in Indiana.[24] In the first decade of the twentieth century, race riots against African Americans erupted in northern cities, including Evansville, Indiana (1903); Springfield, Ohio (1904, 1906); Greensburg, Indiana (1906); and Springfield, Illinois (1908).[25]

Indianapolis never had a riot on the scale of that in Springfield, Illinois, where white rioters lynched two black men and burned out black businesses and homes, but

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[22] "A Policeman Fined: Pat Kelly is Fined for Maltreating George Heywood, Colored--The Puryear Case Recalled," Indianapolis World, August 20, 1892.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900, 276.

[25] Roberta Senechal, Sociogenesis of a Race Riot: Springfield, Illinois, in 1908 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 2.

the threat of racial violence still hung over the Hoosier capital's African-American residents. In the summer of 1901, a gang of young white men, referred to in the press as "bungaloos," gathered in Fairview Park in suburban Indianapolis and attacked African-American visitors. The Indianapolis Sentinel described how a riot began on Sunday, July 21:

> The fight started with an assault on a negro who was quietly standing at the foot of the stairway erected for the descent of J.M. Wright, the trick bicyclist. . .
>
> A crowd of the blood-seeking bungaloos came that way and immediately the cry was raised: "Look at that d-- nigger; somebody hit him."
>
> The black man, who was of muscular build and apparently not averse to trouble, turned and gave back the challenge: "Maybe you fellows don't like niggers."
>
> "No we don't," was the answer, followed by the yell: "Kill the black skunk!"
>
> Like a herd of wolves the gang made a rush for the negro. He was quickly knocked down, nearly carrying a white woman who was standing close at hand, with him. One of the bungaloos jumped with both feet in the face of the prostrate man, but was himself knocked out of the way by a white man. This gave the colored man time to leap to his feet. He sprang up, his face covered with gashes and streaming with blood, and made a dash for safety.[26]

The name and fate of this victim were not reported. He apparently escaped his pursuers who then laid siege to the nearby pavilion, believing the man had taken refuge there with the park superintendent. In the ensuing pandemonium, gunfire rang out, and an eighteen-year-old boy named Charles Daniels was shot through the neck.

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[26] Indianapolis Sentinel, July 22, 1901, "Rioting at Fairview." Fairview Park is now the site of the Butler University campus.

Daniels and the other injured people named in the article appear to have been white since their race was not mentioned, as was usually done for African Americans.[27]

The white-run Sentinel condemned the bungaloo gang for terrifying the 20,000 people in the park, including women and children. The black-run weekly newspaper, the Recorder, did not report on this incident in July 1901, but it did cover a second riot a month later when over 150 "bungaloos" gathered in Fairview, divided up into smaller groups, and then attacked African-American visitors, chasing them out of the park. At least a dozen black people were injured, including a Mr. Harris, whose arm was broken, and George Dawson, who was beaten with clubs and rocks. The park's police force could not control the mob, and the city police had to be called. Only three men were arrested; one was fined twenty-five dollars, and the other two were acquitted.[28] Other incidents such as these led to the establishment of segregated parks in 1920, but even before that some parks had already become segregated in practice.[29]

Ray Stannard Baker, in describing his visit to the city, referred to the "bungaloos," writing,

> Although no law prevents Negroes from entering any park in Indianapolis, they are practically excluded from at least one of them by the danger of being assaulted by these gangs.[30]

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[27] Ibid.

[28] "Riot at Fairview," Indianapolis Sentinel, August 26, 1901; "Hoodlumism. Fairview Park for the second time the scene of trouble," Indianapolis Recorder, August 31, 1901; "Bungalooism Upheld by Jury," September 14, 1901.

[29] Frederick Doyle Kershner, Jr., "A Social and Cultural History of Indianapolis, 1860-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1950), 172-173.

[30] Baker, Following the Color Line, 124.

He found that many white residents were concerned about the growing black population.

> One of the first white men with whom I talked . . . said to me with some impatience: "There are too many Negroes up here; they hurt the city."
>
> Another told me of the increasing presence of Negroes in the parks, on the streets, and in the street cars. He said: "I suppose sooner or later we shall have to adopt some of the restrictions of the South."[31]

As the twentieth century began, African-American newspapers in Indianapolis both celebrated the progress made since the Civil War and reported on the inequities still faced by "the Race." The front page of the Indianapolis Recorder often offered contrasting articles. In the issue for April 27, 1901, one paragraph touted the victory of "Major" Taylor, the African-American cyclist from Indianapolis who had just defeated leading European racers in France. Another reported that the management of the city's Grand Hotel had announced its decision to discharge the African-American barbers on staff and hire white barbers to replace them. The hotel had already replaced the black bellhops several weeks earlier.

This social context must be remembered when studying Ransom Place. The census data can tell us how many people lived there, but it cannot tell us how they got along. As the next chapter will show, black and white families lived next door to each other as the century began, but by 1920, many black residents of Ransom Place had no white neighbors. By the 1920s, many white residents of Indianapolis would also make it clear that they did not want any black neighbors.

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[31] Ibid., 118.

Chapter 2

RESIDENTIAL POPULATION CHANGE

The transformation of Ransom Place from a predominantly white to a predominantly black neighborhood took place in the context of the Great Migration. In the first half of the twentieth century, African Americans from southern states moved north in increasing numbers. In 1910, 90 percent of the nation's African-American population lived in the South, but by 1960, the black population was distributed evenly between the North and South.[1] Between 1900 and 1920 the greatest influx for many cities occurred when the Great War in Europe stopped the flow of European immigration and northern industries began to recruit southern labor (both African-American and white).[2]

This migration was not simply a movement from the southern countryside to the northern cities. Sharecroppers had experience working in southern industries during the slow times of the agricultural year, and members of many black families had already moved in widening circles from their homes in search of work in the South before heading north. African Americans in southern states heard about opportunities in the North through labor recruiters, black-run newspapers, relatives,

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[1] Jacqueline Jones, The Dispossessed: America's Underclass from the Civil War to the Present (Basic Books, 1992), 205.

[2] For a detailed discussion of the impact and reaction to northern labor recruitment in the South, see James R. Grossman, Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Other works that discuss the effects of the Great Migration on midwestern cities include Kenneth L. Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976); Richard W. Thomas, Life for Us is What We Make It: Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); and Joe William Trotter, Jr., Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915-1945 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

and friends. Besides the pull of jobs in the North, a number of factors pushed many African Americans to leave the South. Between 1900 and 1920 natural disasters in the South, such as floods, drought, and boll weevils, destroyed the crops that many African-American farmers depended on for their livelihood. Although racial segregation and discrimination existed in northern states like Indiana, as was noted in Chapter 1, the Jim Crow laws of the South and the decline of black political power there after Reconstruction made the situation in the North seem an improvement by comparison.[3]

Many migrants, however, may have headed to Indianapolis with an overly idealistic view of the city. Ray Stannard Baker interviewed an African-American man in Mississippi who planned to move to the Hoosier capital because "They're Jim Crowin' us down here too much . . . ; there's no chance for a coloured man who has any self-respect." He added that in Indianapolis, "I hear they don't make no difference up there between white folks and coloured, and that a hard-working man can get two dollars a day."[4]

Decennial census records do not provide information on when migration to Indianapolis peaked between census years, but the city's African-American population increased by 5,885 in the first decade of the century and by 12,862 between 1910 and

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[3] John Bodnar, Michael Weber, and Roger Simon, "Migration, Kinship, and Urban Adjustment: Blacks and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-1930," Journal of American History 66 (December 1979):552; Jacqueline Jones, "The Southern Diaspora: Origins of the Northern 'Underclass,'" in The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History, ed. Michael B. Katz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 39-44; Grossman, Land of Hope, 28-37; Carole Marks, Farewell--We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 1-18.

[4] Baker, Following the Color Line, 112.

Table 2.1: Population Growth in Indianapolis, 1900-1920

Census year	City-wide population		% growth from previous census
1900	169,164		60.4%
1910	233,650		38.1%
1920	314,194		34.5%
	Black population	% of city population	
1900	15,931	(9.4%)	74.4%
1910	21,816	(9.3%)	36.9%
1920	34,678	(11.0%)	59.0%

Source: Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, s.v. "Overview: African-Americans" by Emma Lou Thornbrough; Robert G. Barrows, "A Demographic Analysis of Indianapolis, 1870-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1977), 49.

1920 (see Table 2.1).[5] The rate of growth of the black population between 1900 and 1910 was comparable to the growth of the city's overall population in this decade, but the increase of the black population between 1910 and 1920 (59 percent) was significantly greater than that of the city population as a whole (35 percent).

Proportionally this growth was not as dramatic a change as was witnessed by other northern cities where the African-American populations more than doubled in this same decade. Large cities attracted more newcomers, and Chicago's black population increased by over 65,000 (148 percent). Detroit, which offered jobs in the

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[5] Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, s.v. "Overview: African-Americans" by Emma Lou Thornbrough.

auto industry, had its black population grow by 35,097 (611 percent) between 1910 and 1920.[6] Also Indianapolis, as noted in Chapter 1, already had a higher proportion of African Americans in its population than did most other northern cities. For example, Gary, Indiana, only had 383 black residents in 1910, so the growth of its African-American population to 5,229 in 1920, represented a 1200 percent increase.[7] The increasing black population in Indianapolis, however, did affect the residential patterns of neighborhoods like Ransom Place.

Neighborhood Population Change

Before 1900, the blocks that would become Ransom Place had been predominantly white in a ward with a growing African-American population. In 1870, the area north of Indiana Avenue, where Ransom Place is today, had only white residents, though Ward Four was 19 percent black, a higher percentage than any other ward in the city.[8] In 1880, only 46 (9 percent) of the 503 Ransom Place residents were African-American.[9] When ward boundaries were redrawn between 1890 and 1900, Ransom Place ended up in Ward Six of fifteen wards (see Appendix B for ward boundaries and populations in 1900). By 1900, the neighborhood population was only

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[6] Chicago statistics cited in Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape, 283; Thomas, Life for Us is What We Make It, 26.

[7] Emma Lou Thornbrough, Since Emancipation: A Short History of Indiana Negroes, 1863-1963 (Indianapolis[?]: Indiana Division American Negro Emancipation Centennial Authority, 1964[?]), 17.

[8] Glowacki, "Research for Freetown Village," 11-13.

[9] Steger, "Ransom Place Project: Preliminary Report," 12.

14 percent black compared with the surrounding Sixth Ward, which was 22 percent African-American.[10]

As Table 2.2 shows, the ratio of African-American and white residents in the neighborhood changed dramatically between 1900 and 1920. Glowacki's study of Old Ward Four in 1870 found that African-American households tended to cluster within a larger, predominantly white area. In 1900, a few black families lived next to each other, but black and white households coexisted on each street of Ransom Place (see Map 2). Although the neighborhood was integrated in 1900, the dwellings themselves were not. Except for one white household that employed a black servant, the residents of each house were either all black or all white. There might be more than one house to a lot, but only 7 of the 150 occupied property lots had both white and black households living on them.[11]

Table 2.2: Population of Ransom Place Historic District, 1900-1920

Census year	Total # residents	Black	White
1900	740	105 (14.2%)	635 (85.8%)
1910	708	469 (66.2%)	239 (33.8%)
1920	870	834 (95.9%)	36 (4.1%)

Source: Manuscript census records for 1900, 1910, 1920. Unless otherwise stated, all information on residents comes from these records.

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[10] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Population (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 615.

[11] Combination of census data from 1900 with lots on Sanborn map for 1898.

MAP 2

0 100 200
50 150
Approximate scale
in feet
(1 inch = 200 feet)
Map 2: Ransom Place
in 1900
Black residences
White residences
No census
information
Stable
Sources: Federal manuscript
census records for 1900;
Sanborn Insurance Map
of Indianapolis, 1898.
N
W. 10TH (PR)
FACA
W. PRATT
CAMP
CALIFORNIA
W. PRATT
W. ST. CLAIR
W. ST. CLAIR

By 1910, 139 of the 208 households listed in the census were African-American, comprising 66 percent of the neighborhood's population for that year (see Map 3 and Table 2.2). Now the white households were in the minority and tended to cluster along West, Tenth, and California streets. West and Tenth streets were the only two paved roads in the neighborhood in the early 1910s.[12] A few of the buildings housed both white and black residents, though some lived in homes that had been made into duplexes, with separate half-number or "rear" addresses being given for different families living in what appears to be one dwelling on the Baist Real Estate Atlas map for 1908.

The census taker in 1910 recorded two interracial marriages in the neighborhood, but both couples were listed as white in 1920, suggesting the subjective nature of the racial classifications as well as the expectations of the census taker.[13] If a census taker saw only one family member while visiting a house, he or she would probably assume that everyone else in the household would fit into the same racial

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[12] D. Frank Dreher, "Dreher's Mile Square Index and Paved Street Map," 1913 (Indiana State Library, Indianapolis).

[13] It is difficult to verify the census data on race, because most other sources from the period, such as city directories, list the person's name without classifying them by race. Philip and Martha Tasch of 807 N. California Street were listed as white and black, respectively, in 1910. Philip, the son of German-born parents, was undoubtedly white. Martha, who was recorded by the census taker in 1920 as white, served as treasurer of the Woman's Council, an African-American women's organization, suggesting that she may have been African-American herself. Manuscript census records for 1910 (E.D. 96, sheet 6A, lines 31-32) and 1920 (E.D. 105, sheet 6A, lines 24-25); "The officers and members of the Woman's Council, 1919-1920," list in Woman's Improvement Club Collection, Folder 5, M432, Indiana Historical Society Library.

The other couple was Sumner and Lillian Furniss of 824 (later 834) N. West Street. Sumner A. Furniss, a prominent African-American doctor, was listed as black in 1910 and white in 1920. His wife Lillian was recorded as white both years. The Furniss family, discussed in Chapter 3, was involved in many African-American community activities and received frequent mentions in the Indianapolis Recorder. Manuscript census records for 1910 (E.D. 96, sheet 5B, line 99; sheet 6A, line 1) and 1920 (E.D. 105, sheet 6B, lines 96-97); Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, s.v. "Furniss, Sumner A."

Map 3: Ransom Place in 1910

- Predominantly black- occupied
- Predominantly white-occupied
- No census information
- Stable

Sources: Federal manuscript census records for 1910; Baist Real Estate Atlas map of Indianapolis, 1908.

category. Most census takers would generally not expect mixed race marriages and living arrangements, thus creating an unconscious bias against recording them in the census. Indiana legislators had passed a law against miscegenation in 1840, which remained on the books until 1965.[14] The law was only occasionally enforced, and couples could get around it by going to another state, such as Illinois, to marry. In 1899, a bill that made interracial cohabitation a felony passed in the state Senate but not in the House.[15]

By 1920, Ransom Place was primarily an African-American neighborhood with only twelve white households remaining, and the majority of white residents lived on California and West streets (see Map 3). White residents had moved into the neighborhood in the past two decades, but they did so in decreasing numbers. Seven of the twelve white households in 1920 had been in Ransom Place in 1910, and six had been there since at least 1900, demonstrating a strong tie to the neighborhood. Eight of the twelve owned their homes, suggesting that they remained in part because of this investment. The average age of white heads of household had increased from 45 years old in 1900 to 63 years by 1920, as the white residents who stayed in Ransom Place aged.

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[14] Indiana was the last state in the North to repeal its anti-miscegenation law. Lowe, "Racial Segregation in Indiana," 9.

[15] Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900, 125-127, 269-270.

Map 4: Ransom Place in 1920

- Predominantly black- occupied
- Predominantly white-occupied
- No census information
- Dwelling built after 1914
- Stable

Sources: Federal manuscript census records for 1920; Sanborn Insurance Map of Indianapolis, 1914.

Residential Mobility and Persistence

The neighborhood's population increased by more than 130 residents between 1900 and 1920, but hundreds of people must have moved in and out of Ransom Place in the intervening years. Census records only provide static snapshots of the neighborhood's populace, because the census taker was instructed to count only those people who lived in a household on the official census day. Actual enumerations were generally not as precise as this because it might take a week to gather information on the entire neighborhood, and people could come and go even within that short period of time. For example, Roxie Dixon of 802 California Street died in April 1910, while the census was being taken, and her husband William appears to have been enumerated twice, once as a married man and once as a widower.[16]

The census taker also counted people whose "usual place of abode" was with a family in the neighborhood, even if that individual might be working elsewhere at the time. In Ransom Place, at least two people enumerated were actually overseas.[17] Because not all these people can be accounted for, I have assumed that the individuals enumerated did normally reside in the neighborhood, although some might spend part of their time outside of Ransom Place and Indianapolis, as did the traveling salesmen and porters working on railroad cars.

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[16] Indianapolis Recorder obituary, April 30, 1910, "A Prominent Club Woman Dead"; manuscript census records for 1910 (E.D. 96, sheet 5A, line 38; sheet 8B, line 2).

[17] Edgar Webb was a soldier in the Philippines in 1900, and Henry Furniss was serving as the U.S. minister to Haiti in 1910.

Place of birth

Where had the residents of Ransom Place come from? New arrivals contributed more to the growth of Indianapolis than did local births, and the neighborhood's population reflected the city's growth by in-migration.[18] Because the census only reported birthplace by state or foreign country, it is easier to analyze migration from outside the state than movement from rural to urban areas within Indiana. To simplify analysis, I have grouped places of birth into regional categories that are defined in the note for Table 2.3.

In 1900, 63 percent of Ransom Place residents were Indiana-born. This was comparable to the city-wide statistic of 62 percent of Indianapolis residents who were Hoosiers by birth.[19] When children under eighteen years old are not counted, however, only 54 percent of the adult population of the neighborhood came from Indiana. Although 60 percent of the neighborhood's white adult population had been born in Indiana, only 23 percent of the African-American adults were Indiana natives. Much of the growth of the African-American population in the city came through in-migration from the South in the decades after the Civil War, and many of the black adults in Ransom Place in 1900 had participated in this nineteenth-century movement. By 1920, the percentage of Indiana-born African-American adults in Ransom Place had decreased to 19 percent with the influx of newcomers during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The percentage of white adults born in Indiana also

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[18] Barrows, "Demographic Analysis of Indianapolis," 264.

[19] Ibid., 68.

Table 2.3: Birthplaces of Adult Residents (18 years and older) of Ransom Place Historic District, 1900-1920

Regions and States	1900 Census Black [N = 82]		1900 Census White [N = 461]	
Midwest	26	(32%)	348	(75%)
Indiana	19	(23%)	275	(60%)
Northeast	-		24	(5%)
Upper South and Border	53	(65%)	41	(9%)
Kentucky	33	(40%)	18	(4%)
Lower South	3	(4%)	-	
Foreign-born	-		48	(10%)

	1910 Census Black [N = 366]		1910 Census White [N = 188]	
Midwest	107	(29%)	137	(73%)
Indiana	61	(17%)	108	(57%)
Northeast	12	(3%)	14	(7%)
Upper South and Border	221	(60%)	11	(6%)
Kentucky	150	(41%)	4	(2%)
Lower South	23	(6%)	1	(1%)
Foreign-born	3	(1%)	25	(13%)

	1920 Census Black [N = 648]		1920 Census White [N = 33]	
Midwest	168	(26%)	21	(64%)
Indiana	126	(19%)	19	(58%)
Northeast	5	(1%)	3	(9%)
Upper South and Border	415	(64%)	3	(9%)
Kentucky	251	(39%)	2	(6%)
Lower South	54	(8%)	1	(3%)
West	1	(<1%)	1	(3%)
Foreign-born	3	(<1%)	4	(12%)
Unknown	2	(<1%)	-	

Source: Manuscript census records for 1900, 1910, 1920.

(The birthplaces represented above are listed in these regional categories, taken from Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape, 283. Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio, Wisconsin; Northeast: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont; Upper South and Border: Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia; Lower South: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas; West: California; Foreign: Canada, England, Germany, Ireland, Jamaica, Scotland, West Indies.)

decreased slightly to 58 percent in 1920, as the number of white residents in the neighborhood declined.

Although the residents of the neighborhood came from a range of states and foreign countries, the majority of African-American adults came from the Upper South and Border States. In all three census years, between 60 and 65 percent of the black adult population living in Ransom Place had been born in this region, with about 40 percent of black adults coming originally from Kentucky. Less than 10 percent of the white residents came from this region.

The majority of white adult residents came from the Midwest (including Indiana). In 1900, 75 percent of white adults were midwesterners by birth, a number that declined to 64 percent by 1920. In contrast, in 1900 only 32 percent of the neighborhood's black adult population had been born in the midwestern states. Between 1900 and 1920, as migration from southern states increased, the percentage of African-American adults born in the Midwest decreased to 26 percent. The non-Hoosiers among all midwestern-born residents came primarily from Ohio and Illinois originally.

The percentage of African-American adults from the Lower South doubled from 4 to 8 percent between 1900 and 1920, with most coming from Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, but this still represented a very small proportion of the neighborhood's population. Only two of the white adult residents recorded in the three census years came from the Lower South. A small number of white adults (5 to 9

percent) and even fewer black adults (1 to 3 percent) came from the Northeast, primarily Pennsylvania and New York.

In 1900, 10 percent of white adult residents were foreign-born, mainly immigrants from Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Canada. These five ethnic groups also formed the majority (85.5 percent) of the city's foreign-born population that year.[20] By 1920 only four foreign-born white residents remained in the neighborhood, primarily German-born. The few foreign-born black residents listed in the enumerations for 1910 and 1920 came from Canada, Jamaica, and the West Indies.

Migration patterns

About 70 percent of all the neighborhood's adult residents in 1910 and 80 percent in 1920 had come to Indianapolis from another state or country. The census data only hint at the moves many households made, and the decision-making processes that brought African Americans to Indianapolis would best be studied through family stories, letters, and other similar sources. Unfortunately the census does not provide enough information to show patterns of chain migration (families or groups moving to Indianapolis from the same town or region). What follows is only a brief glimpse of the patterns of migration based on what the census information can provide.

Residents who moved to the Hoosier capital from outside Indiana did not necessarily come directly from their state of birth. For example, the Joneses, an African-American family living at 813 Paca Street in 1910, may have moved to

[20] Barrows, "Demographic Analysis of Indianapolis," 69.

Indiana by way of Illinois. The head of household, Leonard Jones, a shoemaker, had been born in Kentucky while his wife Mary came originally from Alabama, and their ten-year-old son George was born in Illinois. And some Indiana-born residents moved out of state temporarily, as did the Jones's widowed neighbor, Lulu B. Oliver of 811 Paca, whose two oldest children, in their early twenties, had been born in Kentucky like their father. Her four younger children, eighteen years old and under, had been born in Indiana.[21] Generally, however, the pattern of movement visible through the children's places of birth show that the children were born in the same state as their parents or in Indiana, their current state of residence.

Although the majority of African-American residents born outside of Indiana had come from states in the South, migration to Indianapolis did not always entail a move north. A few black residents moved south to Indiana from Minnesota, Michigan, and Canada. Two of the four Canadian-born black residents were actually children of United States citizens living abroad, their parents having come originally from Pennsylvania. A small number of black adult residents (17 in 1910 and 1920 combined) had come west to Indiana from the Northeast, especially Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut, and most of these had parents who had also been born in those northern states. White residents born outside Indiana came primarily from other midwestern states or from Europe.

Birthplaces of household members also suggest the kinship and social ties that might link Ransom Place residents to other states. Henry Callis, an African-American

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[21] Manuscript census records for 1910 (Marion County, Indiana, E.D. 96, sheet 4B, lines 51-57, 62-64).

clergyman living at 914 Camp Street in 1910, was born in Virginia, his wife Nellie and their two oldest children in New York, and their third child in North Carolina, thus connecting them to three other states where they might still have relatives and friends. Their lodger, attorney Robert Brokenburr, also came from Virginia originally.[22] Often boarders and lodgers might come from the same state as the family they lived with or have the same occupation as another household member, suggesting the social connections involved in arranging these housing situations.

The Recorder and the News reported weekly on out-of-town visitors staying with African-American families in Indianapolis and on residents of Indianapolis traveling to destinations within and outside of Indiana. For example, when George L. Hayes of 819 California Street married Beulah Beck in 1914 guests at the wedding included relatives and friends from Richmond, Indiana; Chicago; Minneapolis; Louisville; and Jacksonville, Florida.[23] In a study done of similar information from a newspaper in Norfolk, Virginia, historian Earl Lewis found that African-American women often played the primary role in traveling to maintain social connections between different cities and states.[24] Moving to Indianapolis and Ransom Place would not necessarily cut off residents' ties to the people they left behind.

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[22] Ibid. (E.D. 96, sheet 1A, lines 24-29).

[23] Indianapolis News, August 29, 1914, "Miss Beck is Bride of G.L. Hayes." The white-run News had a Saturday section on black residents of Indianapolis that included the column "Notes [News/Accounts] of Colored People [Folk]," written by African-American journalist Lillian Thomas Fox until 1914. After Fox left the News due to ill health, Frances Berry, a resident of Ransom Place, took over the column. For more on Fox, see Earline Rae Ferguson's article "Lillian Thomas Fox: Indianapolis Journalist and Community Leader," in Gibbs, Indiana's African American Heritage, 139-150.

[24] Earl Lewis, "Afro-American Adaptive Strategies: The Visiting Habits of Kith and Kin Among Black Norfolkians During the First Great Migration," Journal of Family History 12:4 (1987): 407-420.

Residents such as Lewis Shores of 936 N. West Street still felt connected to their home states. When Shores died in 1916, his body was shipped back to Kentucky for burial. Yet Shores had also become part of the neighborhood's community. Rev. Henry L. Herod of the Second Christian Church, at the corner of Camp and W. Pratt streets, presided over the funeral, and Mrs. Fannie Morgan of 912 N. West served as undertaker.[25]

Many residents of Ransom Place shared the experience of migration, and those from the same regions of the United States would have had similar cultural backgrounds. At the same time differences between residents came not only from their perceived racial differences in skin color and other physical features, but also in their cultures as reflected in their accents, foodways, religion, and music. These differences existed not only between black and white residents but also among black residents, depending on their education and social class and how long they had lived in the city. Dr. Sumner Furniss, whose family had come to Indianapolis from Mississippi in the 1880s, told Ray Stannard Baker that African Americans were committing "race suicide" because of

> Negroes leaving the country and crowding into the larger cities, especially in the North. . . . They occupy unsanitary homes; they are frequently compelled to labour for insufficient food and clothing and without proper rest. . . . They easily fall victim to the unusual vices of the city.

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[25] Indianapolis Recorder obituary, March 4, 1916; Polk's City Directory of Indianapolis for 1916. Shore's daughter, Effie Posey, still lived in the Ransom Place neighborhood with her husband, and she was listed there in the census for 1920.

He suggested to Baker:

> Tell the young people in the South not to come to Northern cities, but to go to the smaller towns of the West, where they can have a fair chance.[26]

As the black population of Indianapolis increased, the established African-American residents may also have feared that if a newcomer caused trouble, all black residents of the city could suffer the consequences because white attackers might not distinguish between these newcomers and long-time residents. The black-run newspapers published advice on how to behave when out in public, suggestions that may have been aimed at those unused to city life:

> Modulate your voice.
> Stop loud talking in the cars or on the street. . . .
> Stop grinning and shouting across the street at each other. . . .
> Don't loaf on corners; two is company; three is a crowd; five is a mob.[27]

Ransom Place had long-time residents and newcomers, both black and white, as well as northern, southern, and foreign-born. Some would settle in the neighborhood for a decade or more, but most would come and go.

Outmigration from Ransom Place

Although new houses were built in Ransom Place between 1900 and 1920, for most new residents to move in, other residents had to move out. Where did these people go? To test the hypothesis that white residents moved to the outlying areas of the city while black residents stayed in the older neighborhoods closer to downtown, I

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[26] Indianapolis Recorder, January 24, 1953, Sumner A. Furniss obituary, "Noted Leader in Medicine and Masonry Passes;" Baker, Following the Color Line, 115-116.

[27] Indianapolis Recorder, April 27, 1901, "Good Examples: Something the Negro Should Adhere To."

traced the households from the 1900 census in the 1905 city directory and those from the 1910 census in the 1915 city directory.[28] Because the neighborhood was 96 percent African-American by 1920, I did not do a similar tracking for the 1920-1925 period since I could not compare the movement of white and black households as well as in the previous two decades. In general, black residents tended to stay in the vicinity of Ransom Place while white residents moved farther away, but some white residents who moved remained near Ransom Place and downtown and a small number of black residents moved away from center of the city.

Less than 40 percent of the 198 households listed in the census for 1900 remained in the neighborhood five years later (see Table 2.4). This included residents who moved but stayed within the six blocks of the historic district. Of those 121 households who moved out of Ransom Place by 1905, at least 67 (55 percent) were still living in Indianapolis in that year. Fifty-four (27 percent) of all the heads of household or their widows were not located and presumably no longer lived in the city.[29]

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[28] I refer to "households" rather than heads of household because when counting who remained in the neighborhood I included families in which the head had died but the widow or family members remained.

[29] The "unlocated" group includes people with common names who could not be identified in the city directory with any degree of certainty. I used several criteria for locating Ransom Place residents at different addresses, since directories do not list race, age, or other variables such as are found in the census data. I accepted a person with same name and occupation as listed in the census, unless the name and occupation were common ones, such as George Jones, laborer. (This method tends to bias my findings towards people who did not change occupation within that five-year span, and not all listings included occupation.) I looked for relatives, especially adult children, at the same address as the head or widow, and I assumed people with unusual names, such as Oro E. Baker or Turpin Romans, to be the same person who was listed in the census, whatever his or her occupation. Because names in the census could be misspelled, I also accepted alternate spellings such as "Dixon" for "Dickson" and "Rigg Lucinda E (wid Oscar M)" for "Rigg, Lou E.," a widow in the census. For households that had moved out of the Ransom Place area, I did not count relatives found at other addresses without the head or his widow, because I could not be sure that the head of household did not leave the city.

Table 2.4: Persistence of Households in Ransom Place (RP), 1900-1910

Households listed in 1900 census for RP found living in Indianapolis

	in Ransom Place in 1905		in Ransom Place in 1910	
Total [N = 198]	77	(38.9%)	29	(14.6%)
Black [N = 28]	15	(53.6%)	8	(28.6%)
White [N = 170]	62	(36.5%)	21	(12.4%)

	outside RP in 1905: within 1/2-mi. radius		outside RP in 1905: outside of 1/2-mi. radius	
Total [N=198]	23	(11.6%)	44	(22.2%)
Black [N=28]	5	(17.9%)	--	
White [N=170]	18	(10.6%)	44	(25.9%)

Head or widow not found in Indianapolis in 1905

Total	54	(27.3%)
Black	8	(28.6%)
White	46	(27.1%)

Source: Federal manuscript census for 1900 and 1910; Polk City Directory of Indianapolis, 1905; Polk City Directory Map of Indianapolis, 1909.

When these numbers are separated by race, 27 percent of the white households and 29 percent of the black households were categorized as unlocated, suggesting a comparable rate of outmigration from Indianapolis for both groups. In contrast, 54 percent of the black households from 1900 still lived in Ransom Place in 1905, compared to 37 percent of the white households. The five African-American households who had left the boundaries of the historic district by 1905 but who still lived in Indianapolis had all stayed within a half-mile of the Ransom Place neighborhood.[30] Of the 62 white households who had left Ransom Place but still lived in Indianapolis, 44 (71 percent) had moved farther than a half-mile from Ransom Place.

The majority of the households listed in the 1900 census had moved out of Ransom Place by 1910. Only twenty-nine (15 percent) of the households from 1900 remained in 1910, but this population turnover was certainly not unusual. Robert G. Barrows found, in tracing his census sample for Indianapolis in general, that only 16 percent of heads of household from the 1900 census remained at the same address in 1910. Barrows did not find a significant difference between African-American and white residential persistence.[31] In Ransom Place, 8 (29 percent) of the black households and 22 (12 percent) of the white households from 1900 remained in 1910.

Between 1910 and 1920, similar outmigration occurred. Only 30 percent of the 209 households from 1910 remained in Ransom Place in 1915, and only 17 percent

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[30] This half-mile radius was measured from a point at the center of W. Pratt (Ninth) Street between Camp and California streets.

[31] Barrows, "Demographic Analysis of Indianapolis," 133, 183, 190.

Table 2.5: Persistence of Households in Ransom Place (RP), 1910-1920

Households listed in 1910 census for RP found living in Indianapolis

in Ransom Place

	in 1915		in 1920	
Total [N = 209]	63	(30.1%)	36	(17.2%)
Black [N = 139]	45	(32.4%)	29	(20.9%)
White [N = 70]	18	(25.7%)	7	(10.0%)

outside RP in 1915

	within 1/2-mi. radius		outside 1/2-mi. radius	
Total [N=209]	32	(15.3%)	34	(16.3%)
Black [N=139]	26	(18.7%)	14	(10.1%)
White [N=70]	6	(8.6%)	20	(28.6%)

Head or widow not found in Indianapolis in 1915

Total	80	(38.3%)
Black	54	(38.8%)
White	26	(37.1%)

Source: Federal manuscript census for 1910 and 1920; Polk City Directory of Indianapolis, 1915; Polk City Directory Map of Indianapolis, 1909.

remained in 1920 (see Table 2.5). Thirty-two percent had moved out of the neighborhood but still lived in Indianapolis. Of those mobile black households located in the city directory for 1915, 65 percent remained within a half-mile of their previous homes, while 77 percent of the mobile white households who remained in the city moved farther than a half-mile away.

Not every white household moved away from downtown, however, and not every black household stayed within the area between the White River and the Central Canal. For example, 18 (11 percent) of the white households from 1900 remained in the vicinity of Ransom Place, with some only moving one block outside the historic district boundaries or to the neighborhoods immediately south of Indiana Avenue. Some white households moved closer to Monument Circle, the center point of downtown Indianapolis, although more moved outward, settling north of Twentieth Street, south of Washington Street, or west of the White River. Between 1910 and 1915, 14 (10 percent) of the black households moved more than a half-mile from Ransom Place, with some settling on the south side of town or north of Fall Creek, an area later to be labelled "White Territory" by white supremacists in the 1920s.[32] In general, however, black households tended to stay close to the Ransom Place area while white households moved away from it. A comparison of occupations of the different categories of mobile residents is beyond the scope of this study but would be a topic that future researchers could consider.

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[32] Indianapolis Recorder, March 27, 1926, "Protective League Intends to Further Segregation Program."

Residential Segregation in Indianapolis

The change of the neighborhood population reflected the increasing segregation of the ward's population. In 1900, none of the city's fifteen wards had more than 22 percent African Americans, and no ward had less than 2 percent. Between 1900 and 1910 ward boundaries were redrawn, and in 1910 and 1920, Ransom Place was in Ward Five of fifteen wards. In 1910, Ward Five was 32 percent black, and by 1920, it had become 48 percent black. In both 1910 and 1920 it had the highest proportion of African Americans of any ward. In 1920 all fifteen wards had black residents, but neighboring Wards Three, Five, and Six, on the northwestern side of the city, were each more than 30 percent African-American while Ward Nine on the east side of Indianapolis was only 1 percent.[33] (Appendix B has ward locations and populations in 1900, 1910, and 1920.)

Technological innovations changed the residential patterns of cities. Automobiles continued the suburbanization process that streetcars had begun in the late nineteenth century, allowing people to live farther away from where they worked. Between 1900 and 1920 new residential developments sprang up in Indianapolis, especially north of Thirtieth Street, east of Keystone Avenue, and in the Haughville and West Indianapolis areas west of the White River.[34]

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[33] Twelfth Census, 1900, I:615; Thirteenth Census, 1910, II:574; Fourteenth Census, 1920, III:308.

[34] Maps "Indianapolis Development, 1900-1910" and "Indianapolis Development, 1911-1920" in Lamont J. Hulse, Connie Zeigler, and Kevin Mickey, "The Suburbanization of Indianapolis: An Outline of Metropolitan Development in Marion County, 1830-1980" (report for Indiana Heritage Research Grant #90-3027, prepared for the Indiana Humanities Council, 1991), 31ff, 35ff.

African Americans did not have opportunities to buy the same residences as white city dwellers did. Most research on the extent of discriminatory housing practices in Indianapolis and the nation has looked at the period after 1920, when the increased numbers of African Americans looking for housing made this discrimination a more frequent and visible event. Some of the following factors most likely applied in the first two decades of the twentieth century as well; others may have been symptomatic of the fears of white residents in the 1920s, the same decade that saw the election of members of the Ku Klux Klan to local and state offices.

Racism manifested itself in numerous ways. The city's growing black population alarmed many white residents, who resorted to a variety of tactics to keep African Americans from moving into their neighborhoods. Restrictive covenants prevented white homeowners from selling or renting to African Americans. For example, the Emerson Heights subdivision on the east side of Indianapolis was platted in 1910. Houses built there had a clause in their deeds that read "The grantee...agrees for himself, his heirs and assigns, not to sell or lease to colored people." This came after several other clauses prohibiting building of stables, slaughterhouses, piggeries, or any manufacturing processes that involved noxious chemicals that might be "offensive to the occupants of the surrounding buildings."[35]

Some white residents of Indianapolis formed organizations such as the Capitol Avenue Protective Association (c.1920) and the White People's Protective League

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[35] Unpublished research in progress by William Gulde; excerpts from Deed for 602 N. Bosart Avenue, 1913. Gulde, a graduate student in public history, lives in Emerson Heights and has researched the history of the subdivision and his home at 602 N. Bosart, as well as the homes of his neighbors.

(1925) specifically to prevent African Americans from moving into their neighborhoods.[36] Many white homeowners argued that the presence of African Americans in a neighborhood would lead to the depreciation of real estate values.[37] If black families did move into white neighborhoods these groups also tried to drive them out. In 1920, when Lucien B. Meriwether, an African-American dentist, bought a house in the 2200 block of North Capitol Avenue, his white neighbors, with the help of the Capitol Avenue Protective Association, built twelve-foot high "spite fences" on either side of his property. In a Superior Court decision issued in 1921, the judge ordered the fences removed or replaced by fences no higher than six feet.[38]

Some white residents might also resort to intimidation and violence if initial warnings did not work. In 1924 when an African-American family moved into a white neighborhood their house was damaged by an explosive thrown through their window. Soon after, the White Supremacy League circulated leaflets which asked, "DO YOU WANT A NIGGER FOR A NEIGHBOR?"[39]

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[36] "Spite Fences Must Go," Indianapolis World, May 6, 1921; "Protective League Intends to Further Segregation Program," Indianapolis Recorder, March 27, 1926; Emma Lou Thornbrough, "Segregation in Indiana During the Klan Era of the 1920s," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 47:4 (1961), 597-601.

[37] Herman H. Long and Charles S. Johnson, People vs. Property: Race Restrictive Covenants in Housing (Nashville, Tenn.: Fisk University Press, 1947), 5.

[38] "Rules Against Fences," Indianapolis News, April 28, 1921; "Spite Fences Must Go," Indianapolis World, May 6, 1921.

[39] Thornbrough, "Segregation in Indiana," 597-598; Lowe, "Racial Segregation in Indiana," 28-29. Thornbrough and Lowe both cite the Indianapolis Freeman, July 19, 1924; July 26, 1924; unfortunately this newspaper is not available on microfilm for that year.

The situation might not even reach this stage, however, because real estate agents often showed different houses to black and white clients.[40] African-American real estate agents in Indianapolis advertised in the black-run newspapers, and a systematic study comparing their listings with those in the white-run newspapers would provide more information about where black residents of the city could look for housing. In many northern cities, the housing open to African Americans was often in poor condition, yet many landlords could charge a black renter more than they could a white renter, because black residents had less choice in where they could live.[41]

Ideas about controlled urban growth and city planning that became popular in the early 1900s included theories that residential neighborhoods should be homogeneous.[42] This attitude was reflected in a city ordinance passed in Indianapolis in 1926 to enforce residential segregation. The legislation stated that "in the interest of public peace, good order, and the general welfare, it is advisable to foster the separation of the white and negro residential communities." It became illegal for a person to move into a neighborhood whose current residents were primarily of a different race unless he had the written consent of a majority of residents of the opposite race. The ordinance, passed in the spring of 1926, was declared unconstitutional by the Marion County Circuit Court in November of that year. Not all white residents of the city supported segregation, and the Recorder noted that

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[40] Long and Johnson, People vs. Property, 56-62.

[41] Marks, Farewell--We're Good and Gone, 145-146.

[42] Barbara J. Flint, "Zoning and Residential Segregation: A Social and Physical History, 1910-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1977).

"Quite a few white persons also are to be thanked and congratulated for moral and financial assistance" in overturning the ordinance.[43] As was also shown earlier, not all white residents moved away from downtown and the ward surrounding Ransom Place was still 52 percent white in 1920.

It generally proved easier for African Americans to find housing in the older sections of the city, which already had black residents. Given the state of race relations in Indianapolis, many African Americans may have preferred to settle in neighborhoods where other black people lived. Residents might also choose to be near family and friends and where black churches and businesses existed. As the African-American population increased, the newcomers bought or more often rented older homes previously occupied by white families. As the next chapter will show, the percentage of rental properties in Ransom Place increased between 1900 and 1920.

Discrimination and segregation made it difficult for many African Americans in Indianapolis to find decent housing and work. Yet the growth of predominantly black neighborhoods, like Ransom Place, fostered the growth of African-American businesses and provided a client-base for black professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, a number of whom settled in Ransom Place. Segregation would close some doors but open others.

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[43] "Judge Rules Segregation Law Void," Indianapolis Recorder, November 27, 1926; Editorial "Segregation Issue," Recorder, December 4, 1926.

Chapter 3

OCCUPATION AND HOME OWNERSHIP

In the early twentieth century, the Bureau of the Census did not ask about the values of personal or real property, as it sometimes had in the nineteenth century, but information on occupations and home ownership provides some clues to the economic status of neighborhood residents. Ransom Place remained a predominantly working-class area during the period of its transformation from a white-majority to a black-majority neighborhood.[1]

The occupations reported by residents in 1900 and 1920, however, reflect two major changes in the neighborhood's work force. The number of professionals, primarily African-American doctors, lawyers, and teachers, grew as housing in the city became increasingly segregated. At the same time, the number of workers holding skilled jobs declined, so that by 1920, unskilled and service jobs made up 63 percent of the occupations reported, compared to 28 percent in 1900. African Americans, who made up the majority of the neighborhood's population in 1920, often did not have access to the kinds of jobs their white predecessors had held.[2]

Ray Stannard Baker reported the frustration of an African-American resident of Indianapolis in the early 1900s who told him:

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[1] I use the terms "working-class" and "blue-collar" refer to those people who reported occupations in the census that fell into the occupational categories of "Personal and Domestic Service" or "Skilled," "Semi-Skilled," and "Unskilled" labor. These categories are defined in Appendix C.

[2] Unless otherwise stated, information on residents of Ransom Place comes from the federal manuscript census records for 1900, 1910, and 1920.

> What shall we do? Here are our young people educated in the schools, capable of doing good work in many occupations where skill and intelligence are required--and yet with few opportunities opening for them. They don't want to dig ditches or become porters or valets any more than intelligent white boys: they are human.[3]

In addition to occupations, the census records also recorded whether the head of a household owned or rented his or her residence. Heads of household were generally male and married, though the percentage of female heads increased between 1900 and 1920. In 1900 and 1910 there was not a significant difference between the percentage of black and white homeowners, but by 1920 the few white heads of household who remained in Ransom Place usually owned their own homes. Between 1900 and 1920, the percentage of renters in the neighborhood increased from 65 to 73 percent, suggesting that black renters replaced white homeowners or possibly that many of the new residences constructed in the neighborhood became rental properties.

Limitations of the Data

The occupational data cited in this study reflect only the types of work recorded by the census taker. In 1900, the enumerators were instructed to record the occupation of "every person 10 years of age and over who is at work, that is, occupied in gainful labor," which was defined by whether or not they earned wages for their work. Given these instructions, the work of women and children would tend to be underreported, since the directions stated that

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[3] Baker, Following the Color Line, 131.

> No entry . . . should be made . . . for a wife or daughter living at home and assisting in the household duties without pay . . . or a child under 10 years of age not in school.

The work of children who regularly attended school was not reported unless a child was "earning money regularly by labor, contributing to the family support, or appreciably assisting in mechanical or agricultural industry." If a person had more than one occupation, only the one that earned the most money or at which he or she spent the most time was recorded.[4]

Women who did earn income as housekeepers or laundresses, whether working in their own home or in someone else's, were reported as such, but at least one woman, Louie Zaring, who ran a grocery from her residence at 934 Camp Street, did not have her occupation recorded in 1900.[5] The error in Zaring's entry probably represents numerous other undetected omissions in the census data. In 1910 and 1920 Zaring's occupation was listed in the census, perhaps because of the expanded instructions that stated:

> An entry should be made for <u>every</u> person enumerated. The occupation, if any, followed by a child . . . or by a woman is just as important, for census purposes, as the occupation followed by a man. Therefore it must never be taken for granted, without inquiry, that a woman, or child, has no occupation.

An occupation, however, was still defined as "the particular kind of work done by which the person enumerated earns money or a money equivalent," and "[i]n the case

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[4] <u>200 Years of U.S. Census Taking</u>, 43-44.

[5] The <u>R.L. Polk & Co.'s Indianapolis City Directory for 1900</u> lists Louie Zaring's occupation. Her husband, Leander, whose occupation as a grocer <u>was</u> reported in the census in 1900, had a separate directory listing for his stall at Shover's Daily Market, so she was not just working in his store.

of a woman doing housework in her own home, without salary or wages, and having no other employment, the entry . . . should be none." Again, enumerators could only record one occupation per person.[6]

Occupational Categories

For this study I classified the occupations of individual residents into six categories: Professional and Proprietor; Clerical and Sales; Personal and Domestic Service; Skilled; Semi-skilled; and Unskilled. I used these categories (defined in Appendix C) to look for differences and similarities in the types of jobs held by black and white residents and by male and female residents, as well as for changes between 1900 and 1920. The specific occupations of these different groups of people will be discussed later in this chapter.

Obviously not every resident of the neighborhood was employed. Table C.1 in Appendix C shows the percentages of male and female residents aged 10 years and older and 18 years and older for whom an occupation was recorded in each census year. The majority of adult male residents of Ransom Place had jobs. In the three census years, between 94 and 96 percent of the males aged 18 or older had an occupation listed, as did 87 to 88 percent of the males aged 10 or older. In contrast, less than 25 percent of the female residents of the neighborhood reported occupations in 1900. This percentage had nearly doubled by 1920, when 46 percent of women aged 18 and older had an occupation recorded in their entries.

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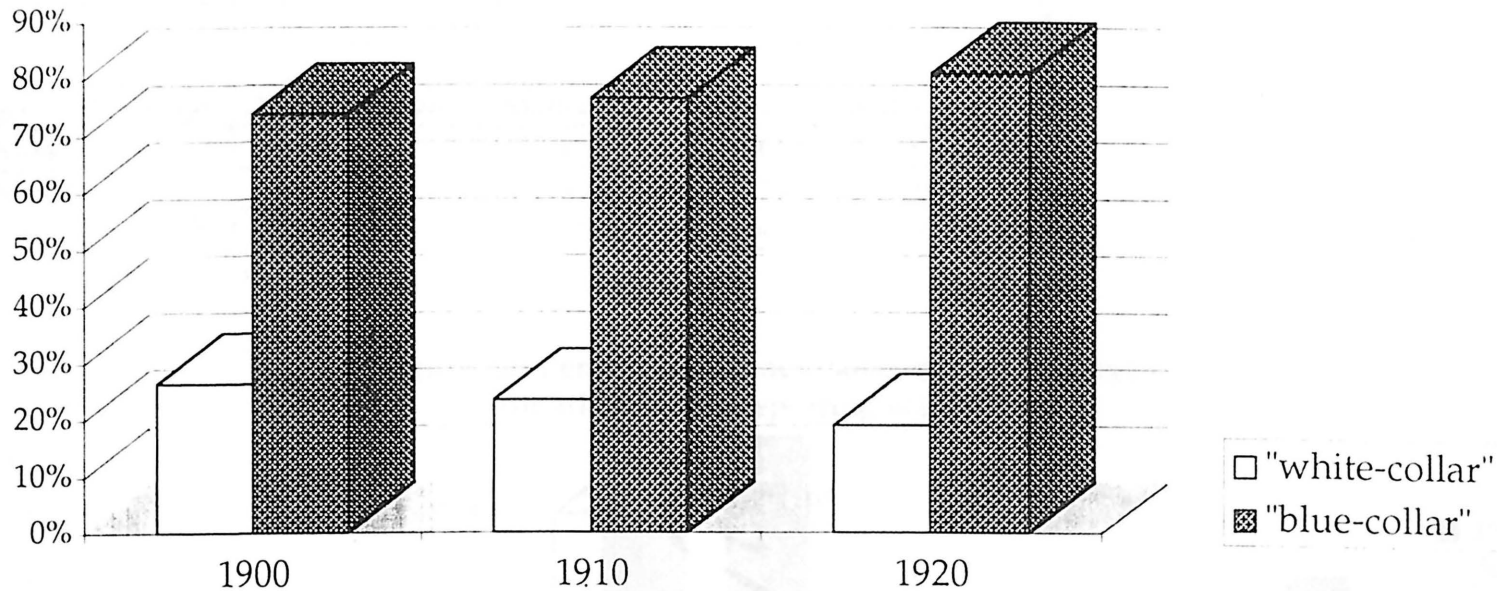
[6] 200 Years of U.S. Census Taking, 51-52, 58.

The majority of the households in the neighborhood consisted of married couples, with or without children. As more African-American families moved into the neighborhood the percentage of women reporting occupations increased. Because African-American men generally earned less than did white men, their wives and other household members would perhaps be more likely to take on paid work in addition to their unpaid labor maintaining the family and home. When the numbers of female residents who had occupations recorded in 1910 and 1920 are separated by race, this difference becomes apparent. Forty-seven percent of the adult black women in the neighborhood reported occupations those two years, while only 23 percent of white women in 1910 and 30 percent in 1920 had their "gainful labor" recorded.

If the six occupational categories mentioned above are collapsed into two groups, "white-collar" (Professional and Proprietor; Clerical and Sales) and "blue-collar" (all others), Ransom Place remained a predominantly "blue-collar" neighborhood (see Figure 3.1). Although a surprisingly consistent number of residents held "white-collar" jobs in all three census years, the percentage of "white-collar" workers declined between 1900 and 1920 as the neighborhood population grew, and the number of "blue-collar" workers increased by 54 percent. The actual number of "white-collar" workers increased from 90 to 91 between 1900 and 1920, while the number of "blue-collar" workers grew from 252 to 387 in the same period.

As Figure 3.2 shows, the types of jobs held by "blue-collar" workers changed from a majority of skilled occupations in 1900 to a majority of service and unskilled positions by 1920. In 1900, 40 percent of the jobs reported by neighborhood residents

Figure 3.1: Percentage of "white-collar" and "blue-collar" occupations in Ransom Place



Census Year	"white-collar"		"blue-collar"	
1900	90	26%	252	74%
1910	91	23%	297	77%
1920	91	19%	387	81%

("White-collar" = professional/proprietor & clerical; "blue-collar" = service, skilled, semi-skilled & unskilled)

Source: Federal manuscript census data for 1900, 1910, and 1920.

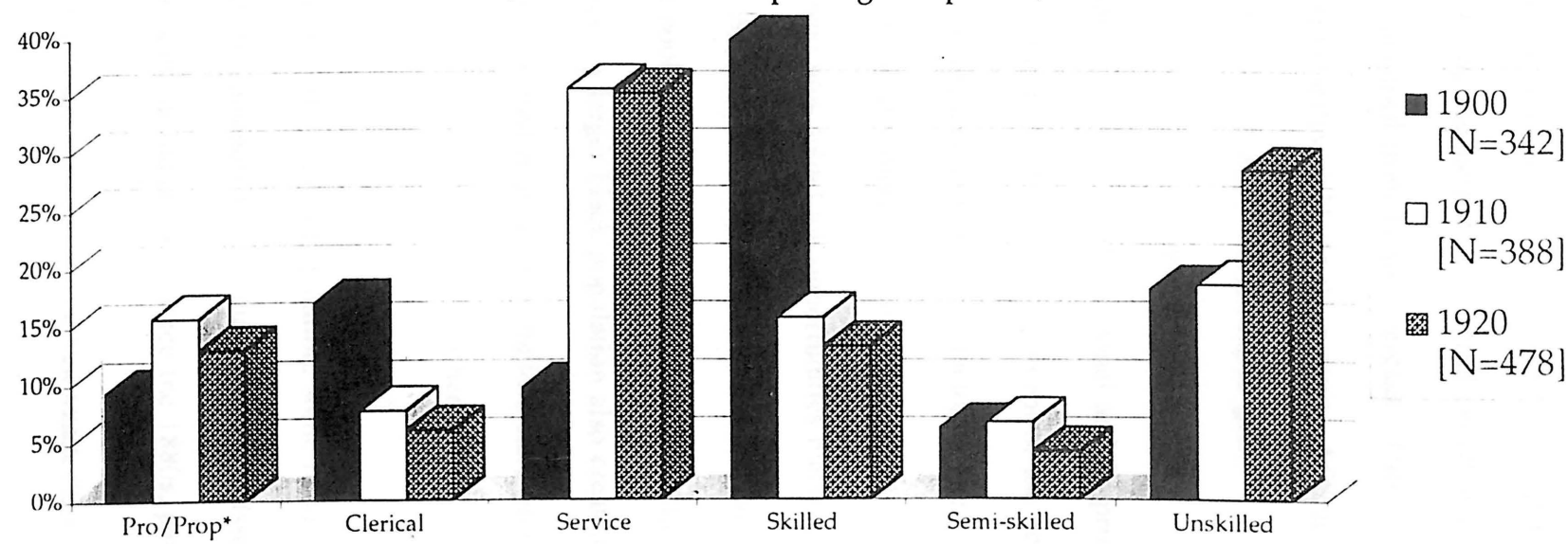
Census Year	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total
1900	32	58	33	136	21	62	342
1910	61	30	138	61	26	72	388
1920	62	29	168	63	20	136	478

Percentages	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total
1900 [N=342]	9%	17%	10%	40%	6%	18%	100%
1910 [N=388]	16%	8%	36%	16%	7%	19%	100%
1920 [N=478]	13%	6%	35%	13%	4%	28%	100%

*Professional and Proprietor

Source: Federal manuscript census data for 1900, 1910, and 1920.

Figure 3.2: Percentage in each category by census year
(for all residents reporting occupation)



were skilled occupations compared to 18 percent that were unskilled and 10 percent service. By 1920, only 13 percent of the jobs recorded were skilled while 28 percent were unskilled and 35 percent service. During this period, the overall percentage of clerical workers in the neighborhood also declined from 17 to 6 percent. This transformation reflected the limited opportunities available to the growing African-American population for whom clerical and skilled work was harder to get.

In contrast, although always a small overall percentage, the number of professionals in the neighborhood increased. In 1900, the Professional and Proprietor category held mainly business proprietors, but by 1920, about 50 percent of the people in this category were professionals, such as teachers, lawyers, and doctors. The segregation of black and white residents of the city increased the variety of occupations held by African-Americans who now found job opportunities meeting the needs of the growing black community. African-American entrepreneurs had more chance of success when they had a large pool of customers who were often excluded from or ill-treated by white-run businesses. A larger black population also created a greater demand for black professionals, who would form a small middle-class group within the neighborhood. This transformation occurred in other northern cities as well.[7]

Although Ransom Place had a large working class population, some residents, such as the Furniss family, could actually be considered upper class. The Furnisses had been prominent among African Americans in Indianapolis since the 1880s, part of

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[7] Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape, 80-85, 251-269; Trotter, "Emergence of the New Middle Class," Chapter 3 in Black Milwaukee, 80-114.

the "upper tens" of the black community.[8] Sumner A. Furniss, a physician, served on the board of Flanner House, a settlement house for African-American residents of the city; became the first president of the Senate Avenue Y.M.C.A.; and was the second black member of the City Council.[9] His brother, Dr. Henry W. Furniss, became the United States consul in Bahia, Brazil, in 1898, and was appointed the U.S. minister to Haiti in 1905, a post he still held when he was recorded in the census for 1910 at his "usual place of abode" with his family at 824 West Street.[10] The Indianapolis Recorder reported that Henry Furniss received the "highest salary paid an Afro-American in the world," earning $10,000 a year.[11]

Without comparative research, the residents of Ransom Place cannot be considered a representative cross-section of the African-American population of Indianapolis during this time period. The fact that doctors and lawyers moved into Ransom Place and that the neighborhood survived to become a historic district today suggests that this area had better housing in general than did other parts of the city open to African Americans. The black residents of the neighborhood represented only 2 percent of the capital's black population in 1920, but the 6 lawyers who lived in

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[8] Willard B. Gatewood, Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 129.

[9] Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, s.v. "Furniss, Sumner A."

[10] Indianapolis News, "Becomes Minister to Haiti: Promotion of Dr. Henry W. Furniss (Colored) Now Consul at Bahia." October 16, 1905.

[11] Indianapolis Recorder, October 10, 1908.

Ransom Place that year made up 23 percent of the African-American lawyers in the city.[12]

California Street became known as the "Negro Meridian Street," nicknamed after the road that bisects Indianapolis, along which many of the city's wealthy white residents had their mansions.[13] In 1920, there were two doctors, three lawyers, a dentist, two school principals, three teachers, and the superintendent for colored schools living on California Street.[14] But the houses on this street also had occupants who worked as laborers for the railroads, foundries, and packing houses, or in service jobs, such as cleaning and cooking for institutions, businesses, or private families.

Occupational Classifications by Race and Sex

Figures 3.3 through 3.6 show how the occupations reported by white males, black males, white females, and black females, respectively, fell into the occupational categories. I discuss white males first because the types of work they did, especially in 1900, show the wide variety of jobs in Indianapolis, many of which were not available to their African-American neighbors. Detailed lists of the occupations

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[12] Fourteenth Census, 1920: Population, IV:1118.

[13] Interview with Frances Stout, long-time neighborhood resident, cited in Rollins, "Ransom Place Historic District."

[14] Doctors: Henry L. Hummons (at 840 N. California), Joseph H. Ward (847); lawyers: James H. Lott (808), Freeman B. Ransom (828), Rutherford B.H. Smith (907); dentist: Oscar W. Langston (835); school principals: Beulah W. and Walter M. Price (833); teachers: Milton L. Stevenson (824), Nettie Walker (847), Sarah F. Bowman (908); and superintendent for colored schools: George L. Hayes (819). Federal manuscript census for 1920.

represented in each category, broken down by year, gender, and race, appear in Appendix C.

The bar charts reflect the percentage of people who reported an occupation, not a percentage of the population as a whole, and as the legends on the charts show, "N" (the total number reporting jobs in each group) varied dramatically between the three census years as the number of white residents declined and the number of black residents increased. Although the percentages cannot be compared precisely, they do show roughly in what types of jobs the different groups clustered.

White males

In 1900, white men made up the majority of the neighborhood's working population, and 47 percent reported skilled occupations, such as carpenter, plumber, and blacksmith (see Figure 3.3). A number of these men worked in the printing trade as typesetters, pressmen, and bookbinders, and others worked in factories that produced chairs and mattresses. Nineteen percent of the white male working population held unskilled jobs, such as day laborers, delivery men, and night watchmen, and 17 percent had clerical or sales positions. Less than 10 percent were professionals or proprietors, with the majority in this category being listed as saloon keepers, grocers, manufacturers, or dealers (in hardware, ice, meat, and shoes). The 4 percent of the white males categorized as semi-skilled consisted primarily of policemen, young men who had been apprenticed to skilled trades, and one soldier. Only 3 percent of the white males held service jobs, half of whom were teenage

White Males

Census Year	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total
1900	21	40	8	108	9	43	229
1910	15	11	8	36	7	12	89
1920	4	0	0	2	2	2	10

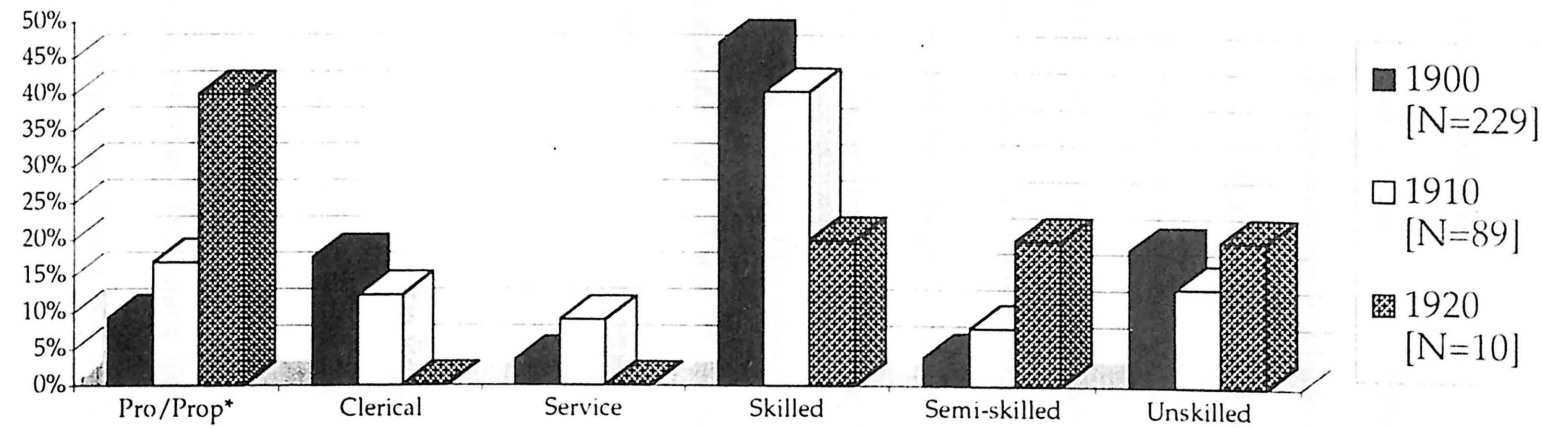
Percentages

White Males	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total
1900 [N=229]	9%	17%	3%	47%	4%	19%	100%
1910 [N=89]	17%	12%	9%	40%	8%	13%	100%
1920 [N=10]	40%	0%	0%	20%	20%	20%	100%

*Professional and Proprietor

Source: Federal manuscript census data for 1900, 1910, and 1920.

Figure 3.3: White males by occupational category, 1900-1920



messenger boys or young men working as elevator operators. (The youngest resident reported working in the three census years was 12-year-old Claude Lovellette who worked as a messenger for the American District Telegraph Company in 1900.)

What is most striking about the white men's occupations in 1900 is their variety, demonstrating not only the different job opportunities available in Indianapolis but also the diversity of residents in a neighborhood that still reflected the walking city of the nineteenth century. Over the next two decades the percentage of clerical and skilled workers in the neighborhood would decline while the percentage of proprietors would increase, suggesting that those white workers who could afford it moved to other neighborhoods, while white proprietors who had shops in the downtown area remained living near their places of business. The 40 percent of white males who were proprietors in 1920 is somewhat misleading because this represents only four of the ten white males who reported occupations that year. Three of the men had lived there since 1910 and two since at least 1900.

Black males

The proportion of types of occupations held by black males remained fairly consistent in the three census years, with the majority (62 to 69 percent) working in unskilled and service jobs (see Figure 3.4). The decline in the number and percentage of black men in service occupations between 1910 and 1920 most likely reflects the shift from service to industrial jobs with the advent of World War I. When the war in

Black Males

Census Year	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total
1900	4	3	10	6	0	19	42
1910	28	9	58	21	6	59	181
1920	34	13	49	53	13	132	294

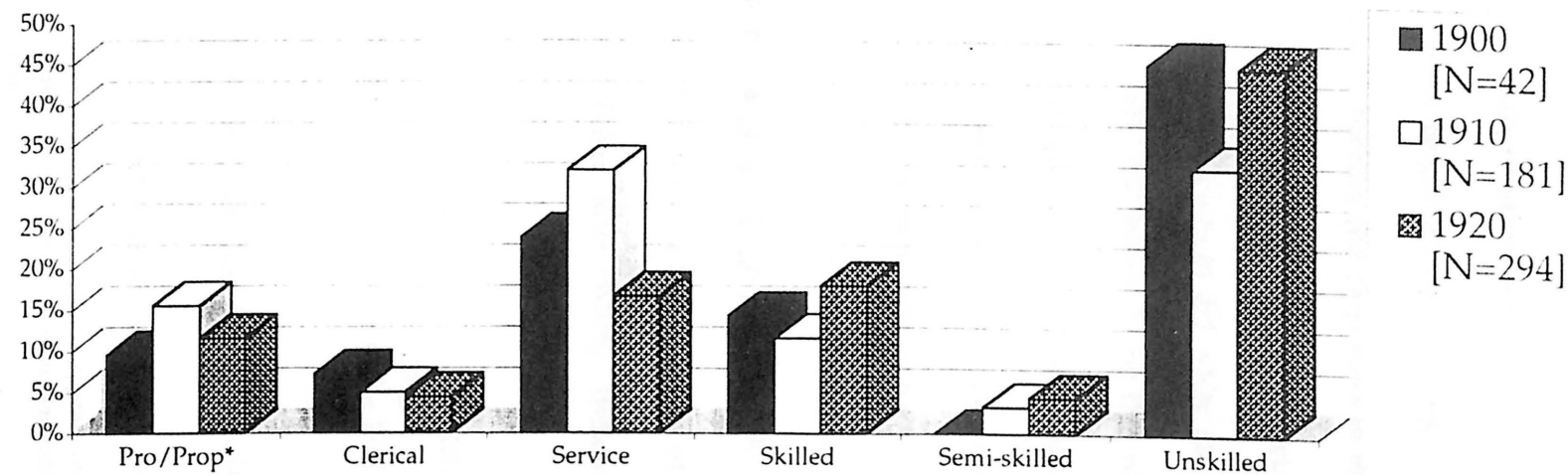
Percentages

Black Males	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total
1900 [N=42]	10%	7%	24%	14%	0%	45%	100%
1910 [N=181]	15%	5%	32%	12%	3%	33%	100%
1920 [N=294]	12%	4%	17%	18%	4%	45%	100%

* Professional and Proprietor

Source: Federal manuscript census data for 1900, 1910, and 1920.

Figure 3.4: Black males by occupational category, 1900-1920



Europe cut off the flow of foreign immigrants, American manufacturers became more willing to hire black workers for their factories.[15]

Between 12 and 18 percent of black male residents held skilled positions in each census year, their growing numbers in the neighborhood reflecting a range of jobs, from the traditional black occupations as barbers and carpenters to the new jobs as molders in the foundries or auto mechanics. Despite this change, black men, skilled and unskilled, did not have as many employment choices as did white men. Most labor unions did not admit African-American members, one excuse being that black workers were often hired as strikebreakers. Because African Americans were not welcome in unions, however, they had little incentive to respect the goals of union strikes.

A few predominantly black unions did exist in Indianapolis for workers in unskilled occupations. By the 1890s a Teamsters' Union and a Hodcarriers' Union had been established, and an editorial in the Indianapolis Recorder in 1901, suggesting that the city's black elevator operators unionize, pointed to the example of the already established Shovelers' Union.[16] Ray Stannard Baker, after visiting Indianapolis, wrote:

> I found that the hod-carriers' industry was almost wholly in the hands of Negroes who have a strong union with a large strike fund put aside. So successful have they been that they now propose erecting a building of their own as a clubhouse.[17]

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[15] Grossman, Land of Hope, 198-207; Marks, Farewell--We're Good and Gone, 16-18; Trotter, Black Milwaukee, 39-47.

[16] Kershner, "Social and Cultural History of Indianapolis," 169; Indianapolis Recorder, July 6, 1901.

[17] Baker, Following the Color Line, 136-137. The hodcarriers' union building appears on the version of the 1914 Sanborn map updated through the 1950s. It was located on Senate Avenue, immediately south of the Y.M.C.A. Both buildings have since been demolished.

In each census year at least four or five black men in Ransom Place worked as hod carriers and so presumably could have joined this union. Baker found that across the North,

> there are a few Negroes in most of the unions of skilled workers, . . . a few here and there, mostly mulattoes. They have got in just as the Italians get in, not because they are wanted, or because they are liked, but because by being prepared, skilled, and energetic, the unions have had to take them as a matter of self-protection.[18]

Most black workers, however, did not have the advantage of union membership, and faced the uncertainty of low wages and layoffs, especially those men earning income as day laborers or by doing odd jobs. Because African Americans found many occupations closed to them, in Indianapolis and elsewhere, they were more willing to work for less, doing especially hot, uncomfortable, and often dangerous work, such as repairing streets or laboring in foundries and meat-packing plants. Some white employers thought that black workers had a "superior ability to endure heat" and so hired them for foundries, forges, and glass factories.[19]

The majority of black males in Ransom Place held service or unskilled jobs in the three census years. In 1900, those in the unskilled category worked primarily as laborers, hod carriers, teamsters, and expressmen, while those in service occupations included janitors, waiters, and porters. In 1910 and 1920, as the number of black males in the neighborhood increased, so did the range of jobs represented in these two categories, but the occupations that had dominated in 1900 still did so in the following

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[18] Baker, Following the Color Line, 135.

[19] Trotter, Black Milwaukee, 11-12.

two census years as well. In 1920, for example, 74 percent of the black males holding unskilled jobs were described as laborers, though they worked in a variety of settings, the most frequently recorded being the packing house, the foundry, and the automobile company.

Uncertain employment made jobs with the city, state, and federal government especially attractive because they offered a steady income, and even a building custodian worked in a relatively cleaner environment than did a laborer in a packing house. Thirty-six percent of the clerical positions held by black men in the three census years combined were jobs as mail carriers or postal clerks. By 1920 there were three African-American policemen, including a deputy sheriff, and one black firefighter living in the neighborhood.[20]

Although the percentage of black males in the professional and proprietor category did not change dramatically between 1900 and 1920, the steady increase in their numbers as the neighborhood's black population grew shows the extent to which the city's black population was increasingly confined to certain residential areas. Black professionals such as Lucien B. Meriweather, the dentist mentioned in Chapter 2 who tried to move onto the 2200 block of North Capitol Avenue in 1920, found that they were unwelcome in many white neighborhoods. The growth of a class of black proprietors and professionals in Ransom Place between 1900 and 1920 was somewhat

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[20] The policemen may have been assigned to the Precinct Station No. 2, located at 605 West St. Clair Street, across the street from Ransom Place. The fireman probably worked in Station No. 1 at 445 Indiana Avenue, since African-American firefighters could only work in predominantly black areas of the city. Addresses from 1914 Sanborn map; Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, s.v. "Public Safety, Women and African Americans in."

overshadowed by the much greater increase in unskilled workers during this same period. As was noted in earlier, Figure 3.1 shows that the number of "white-collar" workers in the neighborhood remained the same while the number of "blue-collar" workers, primarily representing unskilled and service occupations by 1920, increased by more than half.

White females

Thirty-four percent of 64 white women reporting occupations in Ransom Place in 1900 held skilled jobs, mostly in clothing- or food-related work, such as dressmaker, milliner, and baker. Unlike the white men in this year, white women were distributed more evenly across the clerical (23 percent), semi-skilled (17 percent), and service (16 percent) categories, reflecting the types of jobs open to women as sales clerks, stenographers, seamstresses, and servants (see Figure 3.5). As with white men, 9 percent of the white women worked in a professional or proprietary capacity, but the women were more evenly split between professionals (three teachers) and proprietors (a grocer and two boarding house keepers).

As the white population declined over the next twenty years, the number of skilled and semi-skilled workers decreased. (There was only one white woman working in the unskilled category in all three census years, a laborer in a drug factory in 1910.) By 1920, five of the seven women who reported occupations worked as professionals or proprietors, suggesting that, as with white men, their work kept these

White Females

Census Year	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total
1900	6	15	10	22	11	0	64
1910	4	6	4	2	10	1	27
1920	5	1	1	0	0	0	7

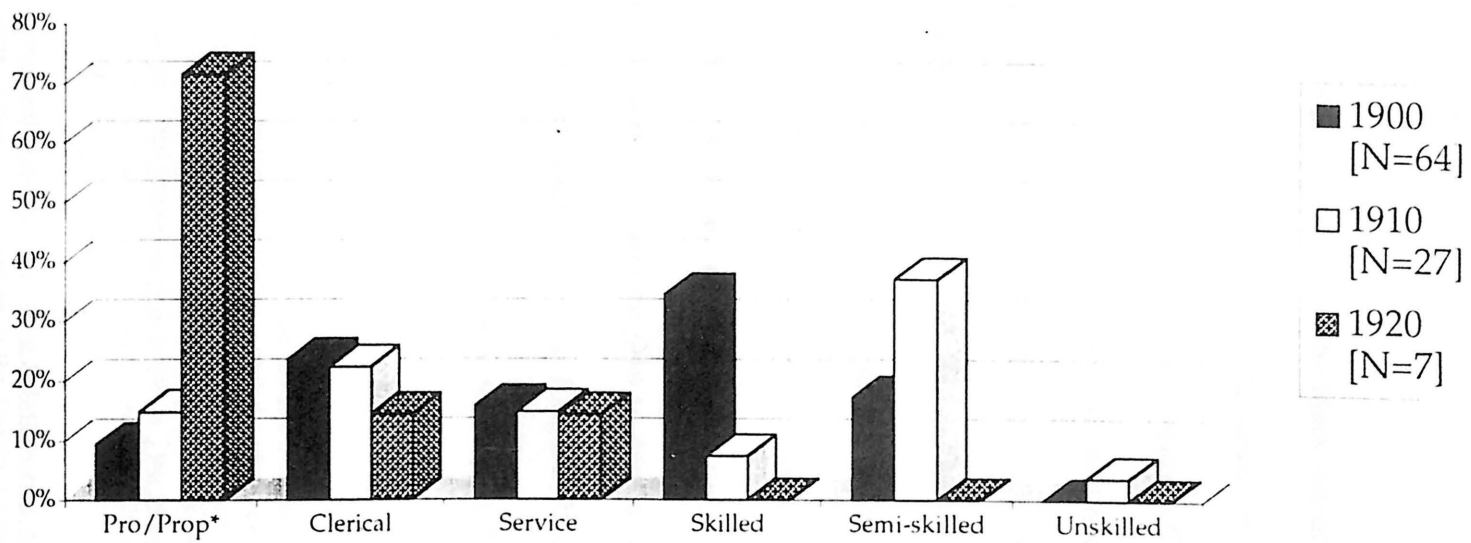
Percentages

White Females	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total
1900 [N=64]	9%	23%	16%	34%	17%	0%	100%
1910 [N=27]	15%	22%	15%	7%	37%	4%	100%
1920 [N=7]	71%	14%	14%	0%	0%	0%	100%

* Professional and Proprietor

Source: Federal manuscript census data for 1900, 1910, and 1920.

Figure 3.5: White females by occupational category, 1900-1920



white female residents in Ransom Place. For example, two were social workers at Flanner House, the settlement house serving the African-American community.[21]

Black females

In all three census years, between 71 and 75 percent of the black female residents of Ransom Place who reported an occupation worked in domestic or personal service jobs, primarily as maids, housekeepers, and laundresses (see Figure 3.6). Although the number of servants per 1000 families in Indianapolis had declined from 104 in 1900 to 49 in 1920, the percentage of female servants in the city who were African-American nearly doubled from 34 percent in 1900 to 61 percent in 1920.[22] This in part reflects the decline of immigration from Europe, one of the sources for female domestic labor, and the opening of more industrial and clerical jobs to white women, especially during World War I. The overall number of servants may have been decreasing, but black women continued to rely on service jobs to earn a living.

The next largest occupational category for black women in Ransom Place was that of professionals and proprietors, and the majority of the black women in this

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[21] Flanner House, founded in 1898, was moved to Ransom Place in 1918 and remained on the northwest corner of West and St. Clair streets until 1944. In 1920, its facilities included a clinic building, day nursery, and assembly hall. Ruth Hutchinson Crocker discusses the role of Flanner House in the settlement movement in Indianapolis in "Practical Philanthropy along the Color Line: Flanner House, 1898-1930," Chapter Three in her book Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 68-93. Information on Flanner House in 1920 comes from the R.L Polk City Directory of Indianapolis for that year.

[22] David M. Katzman, Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 61; Special Reports: Occupations at the Twelfth Census, 1900, 576; Thirteenth Census, 1910, IV:558; Fourteenth Census, 1920, IV:1119.

Black Females

Census Year	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total
1900	1	0	5	0	1	0	7
1910	14	4	68	2	3	0	91
1920	19	15	118	8	5	2	167

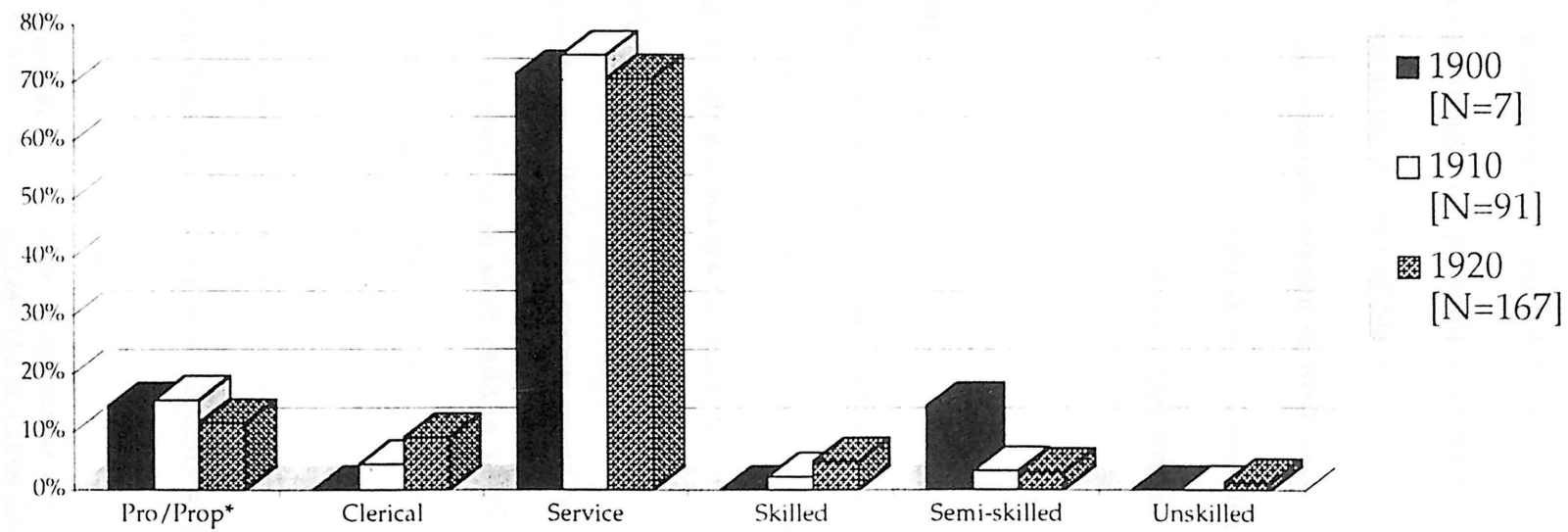
Percentages

Black Females	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total
1900 [N=7]	14%	0%	71%	0%	14%	0%	100%
1910 [N=91]	15%	4%	75%	2%	3%	0%	100%
1920 [N=167]	11%	9%	71%	5%	3%	1%	100%

* Professional and Proprietor

Source: Federal manuscript census data for 1900, 1910, and 1920.

Figure 3.6: Black females by occupational category, 1900-1920



category were school teachers. A small number of women ran their own businesses, including a grocer, a restaurant owner, and an undertaker (Fannie O. Morgan, mentioned in Chapter 2). Clerical and sales positions were probably even harder to come by for black women than black men, but as the number of black-run businesses increased there were more openings for African-American women to work as stenographers and secretaries. The few black women who held skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled positions generally were dressmakers, seamstresses, or (in 1920) worked in the meat-packing industry.

Heads of Household and Home Ownership

Each household had a person designated as the head, but the census instructions left the determination of who the head was to the census taker.[23] If a married couple formed the basis of the family, the husband was almost always the head, but two households enumerated in 1920 had the wife listed as the head even though her husband was still alive and living in the same house. Widowed parents might be designated "head" one year and as "father" or "mother" to an adult child in another year, but if they owned their homes, they generally remained the "head" in census listings.

The average age for a head of household was 45 years old in 1900 and 1910 and 44 years old in 1920. The youngest head listed in any year was 20 years old, but

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[23] The instructions in both 1900 and 1910 read, "Designate the head of the family, whether a husband or father, widow or unmarried person of either sex, by the word 'Head.'" 200 Years of U.S. Census Taking, 41, 50.

Table 3.1: Average Age of Heads of Household by Race

	Black	White
1900	44.4	44.7
1910	42.8	49.2
1920	42.8	63.1

Source: Manuscript census records for 1900, 1910, 1920

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the majority (around 70 percent) of heads of household were between 30 and 60 years old. As the proportion of black and white residents changed, however, the average age of white heads of household increased from 44.7 to 63.1 years old, demonstrating the aging of the white population of the neighborhood (see Table 3.1). In contrast the average age of black heads of household decreased slightly from 44.4 years old in 1900 to 42.8 in 1910 and 1920.

In each census year, the majority of heads of household were male, though the percentage of female heads increased from 16 to 24 percent between 1900 and 1920 (see Table 3.2). About three-fourths of the heads of household were married, but most female heads were widowed suggesting they had inherited their status as "head" from their deceased husbands (see Table 3.3). Fannie Morgan, for example, took over not only her husband's place as head but also his undertaking business when he died.[24]

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[24] Indianapolis Recorder, January 29, 1916, "O.H. Morgan Undertaking Establishment Will Continue Business."

Table 3.2: Race and Sex of Heads of Complete Households* Listed for Ransom Place, 1900-1920

Heads	Total # households		Black		White	
1900 total	198		28		170	
female	31	(15.7%)	0		31	(18.2%)
male	167	(84.3%)	28	(100.0%)	139	(81.8%)
1910 total	209		139		70	
female	38	(18.2%)	22	(15.8%)	16	(22.9%)
male	171	(81.8%)	117	(84.2%)	54	(77.1%)
1920 total	230		218		12	
female	55	(23.9%)	50	(22.9%)	5	(41.7%)
male	175	(76.1%)	168	(77.1%)	7	(58.3%)

* does not include households with no head listed

Source: Federal manuscript census for 1900, 1910, 1920

Table 3.3: Marital Status of Heads of Household in Ransom Place

All heads of household

	1900 [N = 198]		1910 [N =209]		1920 [N = 230]	
single	7	(3.5%)	4	(1.9%)	8	(3.4%)
married	157	(79.3%)	156	(74.6%)	169	(73.4%)
widowed	32	(16.2%)	46	(22.0%)	48	(20.9%)
divorced	2	(1.0%)	3	(1.4%)	5	(2.2%)

	Black				**White**			
	Female		**Male**		**Female**		**Male**	
1900								
Total	**n/a**		**28**		**31**		**139**	
single			1	(3.6%)	4	(12.9%)	2	(1.4%)
married			25	(89.3%)	1	(3.2%)	131	(94.2%)
widowed			2	(7.1%)	24	(77.4%)	6	(4.3%)
divorced			--		2	(6.5%)	--	
1910								
Total	**22**		**117**		**16**		**54**	
single	--		--		1	(6.2%)	3	(5.6%)
married	--		109	(93.2%)	--		47	(87.0%)
widowed	22	(100%)	6	(5.1%)	14	(87.5%)	4	(7.4%)
divorced	--		2	(1.7%)	1	(6.2%)	--	
1920								
Total	**50**		**168**		**5**		**7**	
single	4	(8%)	3	(1.8%)	--		1	(14.3%)
married	5	(10%)	158	(94.0%)	--		6	(85.7%)
widowed	38	(76%)	5	(3.0%)	5	(100.0%)	--	
divorced	3	(6%)	2	(1.2%)	--		--	

Source: Federal manuscript census for 1900, 1910, 1920.

Other widowed and divorced women in the neighborhood often had moved in with their adult children or siblings since it was difficult for a woman to earn a sufficient income to maintain a household. There were also fewer widowed or divorced men in the neighborhood, perhaps because the men were more likely to remarry, especially if they had young children. When George L. Hayes married Beulah Beck in 1914, as was mentioned in Chapter 2, this was his second marriage, and he had two children from his marriage to his first wife, Eleanor.[25]

The percentage of African-American heads of household in Ransom Place who owned their homes decreased from 46 to 22 percent between 1900 and 1920, while the percentage of white homeowners increased from 32 to 67 percent (see Table 3.4). The difference in percentages between black and white homeowners in each census year did not become statistically significant until 1920 when the few white heads of household who remained were more likely to own their own homes. In each census year there also does not seem to have been any significant difference between male and female heads of households owning or renting their homes.[26]

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[25] The 1910 census reported that George and Eleanor Hayes lived at 811 N. California, and this was the first marriage for both of them. In 1920, George L. and Beulah B. Hayes lived in that same house with two 9-year-old sons (born c.1911 and so presumably from his marriage to Eleanor) and one 3-year-old son. Manuscript census for 1910 (E.D. 96, sheet 6A, lines 37-38) and 1920 (E.D. 105, sheet 6A, lines 36-40); "Miss Beck is Bride of G.L. Hayes," Indianapolis News, August 29, 1914.

[26] I determined statistical significance using the chi-square test to compare percentages from groups of different sizes, in this case black and white or male and female heads of household. The chi-square test shows whether differences between the percentages are significant given the wide range between actual numbers represented in each group. For example, in 1900, although 46 percent of the black heads of household owned their homes compared with 32 percent of the white heads, this was not statistically significant when the chi-square test was used to take into account that one black head of household represented 4 percent of the 28 black heads while one white head represented only 0.6 percent of the 168 white heads. To calculate chi squares for home ownership in each census year, I ran my database of census records through the SPSSx statistical program.

Table 3.4: Home Ownership in Ransom Place by Race

	Total # households		Black		White	
1900						
own	67	(33.8%)	13	(46.4%)	54	(31.8%)
rent	129	(65.2%)	15	(53.6%)	114	(67.1%)
unknown	2	(1.0%)	-	-	2	(1.2%)
1910						
own	37	(17.7%)	21	(15.1%)	16	(22.8%)
rent	151	(72.2%)	102	(73.4%)	49	(70.0%)
unknown	21	(10.0%)	16	(11.5%)	5	(7.1%)
1920						
own	56	(24.3%)	48	(22.1%)	8	(66.7%)
rent	168	(73.0%)	164	(75.2%)	4	(33.3%)
unknown	6	(2.6%)	6	(2.8%)	-	-

Source: Federal manuscript census for 1900, 1910, 1920.

Between 1900 and 1920, the overall percentage of homeowners in Ransom Place declined from 34 to 24 percent, pointing to an increase in rental units in the neighborhood. In the 1910s and 1920s, flats or apartment houses had become increasingly common in the city.[27] Even before 1910, Ray Stannard Baker reported,

> Landowners in Indianapolis have been building long rows of cheap one-story frame tenements in back streets and alleys. The apartments have two or three rooms each.[28]

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[27] Kershner, "A Social and Cultural History of Indianapolis," 126.

[28] Baker, Following the Color Line, 112.

Because African Americans had fewer choices in where they could live, they often had to pay higher rents. Baker also saw

> a double house built for white people just on the edge of a Negro neighborhood and held at a rental of $18 a month, but not being able to secure white tenants the landlord rented to Negroes for $25 a month.[29]

Apparently as white homeowners moved out of Ransom Place, black renters replaced them, but the ratio of homeowners to renters varied from street to street in the neighborhood. Nine buildings marked as "flats" appear on the Sanborn map depiction of Ransom Place in 1914. All but two were located on Paca Street and built in or after 1910.[30] In 1920 the east side of Paca Street, between W. St. Clair and Tenth streets, had 50 households listed in the census, containing a total of 177 residents. Ninety-six percent (all but 2) of the households rented their accommodations, an increase from 1910, when 80 percent of the households on that street lived in rental units.

In contrast, in 1920 both sides of California Street between W. St. Clair and Tenth streets had 58 households total with 248 residents. On California Street 43 percent of the heads of household owned their homes, an increase from 1910 when only 25 percent of the heads listed in the census were homeowners. While the households on California had an average of 4.3 people, compared to 3.5 on Paca

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[29] Baker does not specify the location of this example, but Marks places it in Indianapolis. Marks, Farewell--We're Good and Gone, 145; Baker, Following the Color Line, 113.

[30] No flats appear on the Sanborn map for 1898. There are no census records in 1910 for lots on Paca Street that have flats on Sanborn fire insurance map for 1914. Except for "The Paca," a two-story apartment building at 927 Paca Street, the other flats in the neighborhood appear to have had separate addresses for each apartment, and each address was treated as a separate "dwelling house" in the census and is counted as such in this study.

Street, they also had more living space on average. The fact that none of the buildings shown on east side of Paca Street in the 1914 Sanborn map exists today also suggests that the residences there in the early 1900s may not have been as well-built as those on California Street, where a majority of the houses still stand.[31]

Changes in occupation and home ownership in Ransom Place between 1900 and 1920 reflected the transformation from a white-majority to a black-majority neighborhood. Ransom Place remained a predominantly working-class neighborhood, but the number of residents reporting clerical and skilled occupations declined while those in unskilled and service jobs increased as more African Americans, who were usually excluded from clerical and skilled occupations, moved into the neighborhood. More than 60 percent of black males reporting occupations in each census year held service or unskilled jobs. Between 1910 and 1920 the number of black men holding service jobs declined and the number holding unskilled jobs increased as more African-American men became industrial workers.

At the same time, however, the number of professionals in Ransom Place increased as the black community in Indianapolis grew and became increasingly segregated from the white residents of the city. African-American men trained as doctors, dentists, and lawyers served a growing black clientele, while African-American women could get jobs as teachers in the segregated schools for black

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[31] The flats built on the east side of Paca Street between 1910 and 1914 were not much larger than the surrounding dwellings. The largest, at 827 Paca, measured approximately 25 feet wide and 60 feet long. The other six flats were paired in three sets of duplexes. Two joined flats measured about the same or less than the single structure at 827. Estimated measurements based on Sanborn map for 1914.

children. Black proprietors, too, found entrepreneurial opportunities meeting the needs of black customers whom white-run businesses often refused to serve or treated rudely.

The percentage of heads of household who owned their homes decreased, as more black renters moved into the neighborhood. While homes owned by white residents in earlier years may have been converted to rental properties, some of this increase also resulted from landlords building new "flats," especially along Paca Street. Real estate developers could profit from the same influx of African Americans that would allow the doctors and lawyers in the neighborhood to earn a living.

CONCLUSION

Between 1900 and 1920 the neighborhood that would later become the Ransom Place Historic District changed dramatically. It seems unlikely that the residents in 1900 could have predicted that their streets would become a predominantly black community in the next twenty years, but the factors that shaped the neighborhood's transformation already existed as the twentieth century began. The African-American population in the Indiana Avenue area had been growing since the Civil War, and the racism that would segregate black residents was certainly prevalent in Indianapolis before 1900.

The continued in-migration of African Americans from the South in the first two decades of the twentieth century coincided with the movement of many white residents of Indianapolis away from the downtown area to outlying suburbs. The majority of black adult residents in Ransom Place had not been born in Indiana but came primarily from the Upper South and Border states, especially Kentucky. Their white neighbors were more likely to be natives of Indiana or midwesterners by birth.

As Chapter 2 showed, the population turnover in Ransom Place was not a simple, clear-cut case of white residents leaving the older, downtown area and black residents replacing them. Both black and white families moved into and out of Ransom Place between 1900 and 1920. White households continued to move into the neighborhood between 1900 and 1910 and, to a much lesser extent, between 1910 and 1920. But white residents of Ransom Place also remained in downtown Indianapolis when they left the neighborhood, and some black residents moved outward, away from

the area between White River and the Central Canal. In general, however, more white residents moved out and more black residents moved in, so that by 1920, the neighborhood population was 96 percent African-American. The white residents who remained often had economic reasons for staying, such as ownership of their homes and businesses or jobs in the neighborhood. The majority of white residents moving out of Ransom Place who stayed in Indianapolis settled more than a half-mile away while the majority of black residents who moved to another local address stayed within a half-mile radius of their old homes.

The exclusion of African Americans from white neighborhoods limited the places where black newcomers could settle. As the population of the area around Ransom Place had become increasingly African-American, a predominantly black business and entertainment district began to form, though white-run businesses also remained in the area. The buildings on and around Indiana Avenue became symbols of the growing black community, in many ways separate from the rest of Indianapolis. For example, the Lincoln Hospital, opened in 1910, fulfilled "a long felt want in this city" since "[t]here is no public Hospital opened freely to colored people at this time except the City Hospital" (where there were a limited number of beds in the "colored ward").[1] When the New Columbia Theater opened in 1910, the Recorder reported "Indianapolis now boasts of two such amusement places run by colored men," places

[1] The hospital, located at 1101 N. Senate Avenue, had twenty beds and was housed in a two-story Italianate building that had most likely once been a dwelling. "The New Lincoln Hospital," Indianapolis Recorder, January 8, 1910.

where African-American audiences were not charged extra or relegated to the balconies.[2]

African-American organizations raised money to build new facilities, such as the Senate Avenue Y.M.C.A. and, in the 1920s, the Walker Theater and the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. More often they could take over structures once used by white residents. Lucas B. Willis, an undertaker who had lived in Ransom Place at 920 Camp Street in 1910, moved his business in 1914 to the "large and commodious" brick Italianate home at 413 W. Michigan Street, which had once belonged to the Kuhn family, owners of the Kuhn Brothers' meat and sausage factory.[3] Black-run companies like Henry L. Sanders' uniform manufacturing business and Madam C.J. Walker's cosmetics industry became points of pride in the community.[4]

African Americans living in the Indiana Avenue area were not completely segregated from the rest of the city. Most worked for white businesses and families,

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[2] The New Columbia Theater was located at 524 Indiana Avenue, and the older Manilla Theater stood on the corner of Twelfth and West streets. "New Columbia Theater,." Indianapolis Recorder, April 9, 1910.

[3] Despite its "commodious" interior, the structure was still located next door to the Kuhn Bros. meat-processing plant on the southwest corner of Michigan Street and the Canal. The house has since been moved and is now the headquarters for Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana at 340 W. Michigan Street. "Lucas B. Willis, Funeral Director," Indianapolis Recorder, July 11, 1914; "New Home of Undertaker Lucas B. Willis" (photograph and ad), Recorder, August 8, 1914; Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for 1914.

[4] Sanders, a resident of Ransom Place listed in the 1900 and 1910 census, sold uniforms and "gents' furnishings" at 206 Indiana Avenue and 210 W. Ohio Street in 1900. In 1910 he leased a three-story building at 216-220 Indiana Avenue to open a new store. He also did business in Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan. Advertisement, Polk City Directory, 1900, 9; "H.L. Sanders' New Store," Indianapolis Recorder, January 22, 1910.

Walker moved to Indianapolis in 1910 and established her cosmetics business at 638 N. West Street. She sold her products across the United States and overseas and was well-known in the Indianapolis community for her philanthropy. Advertisement, Indianapolis Recorder, April 16, 1910; Encyclopedia of Indianapolis, s.v. "Walker, Madam C.J."

but often employers and unions kept African Americans out of the clerical and skilled occupations that white residents of Ransom Place had held in the early 1900s. As the neighborhood's black population grew, the percentage of workers holding skilled and clerical jobs decreased and the percentage of those with unskilled and service jobs increased, reflecting the types of work open to African Americans in Indianapolis.

The growth of the black community did create opportunities for African-American professionals and proprietors, such as doctors, dentists, and restaurant owners, to support themselves serving a predominantly black clientele, and the number of professionals living in Ransom Place increased even as the number of skilled workers declined. As the "walking city" of the nineteenth century disappeared and white residential neighborhoods became increasingly segregated by class, black residents of Ransom Place continued to live in a neighborhood with both blue-collar and white-collar workers living on the same streets, within walking distance of stores and businesses.

Historical studies done of Cleveland and Milwaukee in the early twentieth century found that because of the prevalence of racial discrimination in schools, work sites, places of public accommodation, and in many other aspects of African Americans' everyday lives, black residents often found a sense of unity based on race that crossed class lines.[5] Future studies of Ransom Place and the African-American community in Indianapolis might examine this phenomenon. Even in the six blocks of Ransom Place where lawyers and business owners lived near laborers and laundresses,

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[5] Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape, 206-234; Trotter, Black Milwaukee, 99-110.

there appears to have been some socioeconomic differentiation between streets, with California Street becoming the "Negro Meridian Street," where nearly half the heads of household were homeowners, and Paca Street becoming the site of numerous rental units. By the time Willard Ransom, son of Freeman B. Ransom, was growing up in the 1920s and 1930s,

> after you left California Street and a few houses along West Street, you found a lot of people in the area were a much poorer class people. [They were] usually hard-working people but not as affluent as those families there, [on California Street].[6]

Future researchers should also consider the reaction of residents of Ransom Place to the changes taking place in their neighborhood and in Indianapolis. A wealth of information exists in the city's African-American newspapers, especially the Recorder. While newspapers remain a limited primary source, they not only contain responses to controversial events, such as the segregation cases of the 1920s, but also describe the day-to-day events of community building, reporting on the activities of social and religious organizations, local fundraisers, and the opening or expansion of businesses. The presence of three black-owned newspapers at the beginning of the century serves as a reminder that the African-American population of Indianapolis did not speak with one voice but had many individuals with different backgrounds and opinions.

For example, even reaction to the segregation of high schools in the 1920s was mixed. Willard Ransom remembered that

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[6] Ransom, "The Lawyers' Perspective," May 22, 1991, 39. Willard Ransom was born in 1916 and lived at 828 N. California Street.

> most of the blacks were divided as to whether they should support having Attucks High School as a separate high school or whether blacks should stay in the general school system. And . . . the thinking was really divided because some of the blacks wanted to get jobs for black teachers. And others felt that this would be the wrong thing to do--any kind of segregation was wrong.[7]

The irony of segregation was that while it closed off opportunities for African Americans that were open to their white counterparts, it also fostered the growth of a strong African-American community in response to this discrimination. After 1927, black students from all over the city had to attend Crispus Attucks High School, rather than the white schools closer to their homes, but now they might have a history teacher with a Ph.D.[8] By the 1920s, the practice of racial separation had made the area around Ransom Place and Indiana Avenue a thriving black community. This community would decline in the 1940s and 1950s, in part, because segregationist influences in the city began to slacken.[9]

We should also remember that the black population of the city was not completely isolated from the white population. White proprietors remained in the Indiana Avenue area past 1920 and served their black neighbors in grocery stores and businesses. Ransom, reflecting on his own and his father's legal careers, remarked, "I think most black lawyers in Indianapolis have always had a few white clients occasionally."[10] As this study has shown, the residents of Ransom Place represented a

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[7] Ibid., May 22, 1991, 46.

[8] Ibid., May 22, 1991, 51, 58.

[9] Wilson, "The Swing Era on Indiana Avenue."

[10] Ransom, "The Lawyers' Perspective," May 22, 1991, 11.

diverse population within just a six-block area. The complexity of the social interactions among the residents of Ransom Place and the surrounding streets and with the rest of the city, from early settlement up to the current "revitalization" of downtown neighborhoods remains a topic open to further exploration.

Appendix A

Census Takers for Ransom Place Historic District

I researched the enumerators who recorded census data for Ransom Place so I could gauge how familiar they were with the neighborhood. The census takers had to sign the top of each sheet of the manuscript census.

1900: Augustus McFarland

I found out the most about him because he lived at 510 West St. Clair Street in 1900 and so counted himself along with all his neighbors. When he took the census in the first week of June that year, he recorded himself as a black hotel waiter, aged 31, who lived with his 24-year-old wife Melberta in their rented home. He was born in Indiana and she in Illinois.[1]

The Freeman reported on June 9, 1900 that "Mr. Gus McFarland has been appointed a letter carrier." He was listed as a "carrier P.O" in the Indianapolis city directories for 1905, 1910, 1915, and 1920. He lived at a different street address in each of these years.

1905 at 908 N. West Street (still in Ransom Place)
1910 at 822 Fayette Street (a block east of West Street)
1915 at 1810 Boulevard Place
1920 at 1929 Boulevard Place

[1] Manuscript census, 1900, Marion County, E.D. 88, sheet 5A, lines 25-26.

1910: Eugene H. Fischer

There were two Eugene Fishers listed in the Indianapolis city directory for 1910. Eugene, a molder, boarded at 1508[?] Columbia Avenue. Eugene H., a watchman, had a home at 702-1/2 Indiana Avenue, just south of Ransom Place. I was not able to find a Eugene Fisher in the 1910 census records for 1508 Columbia Avenue. The more likely candidate, Eugene H. Fisher on Indiana Avenue, was apparently not at home when his fellow census taker arrived there to count because he is only listed as a white, male roomer at the 702 address with his age, marital status, and occupation left blank and his birthplace given as "United States."[2]

1920: Stanley H. Scott

The city directory for 1920 lists only a Stanley W. Scott, a buyer for Kingan & Co. who lived at 1222 W. 29th Street. The only Stanley Scott found through the 1920 census "soundex" index for Marion County was a 23-year-old white male, still in school, who lived in his grandmother's household at 2325 Delaware Street with three aunts and his older sister, a school teacher. He was born in Florida.[3]

That the Stanley Scott who enumerated the Ransom Place area was not familiar with the residents of the neighborhood is suggested by the fact that he recorded Sumner Furniss, a prominent African-American doctor and city councilman, as white.

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[2] Manuscript census, 1910. Columbia Avenue listings in Marion County, E.D. 40; Indiana Avenue listing in E.D. 98, sheet 9B, line 88.

[3] Manuscript census, 1920, Marion County, E.D. 62, sheet 2, line 23.

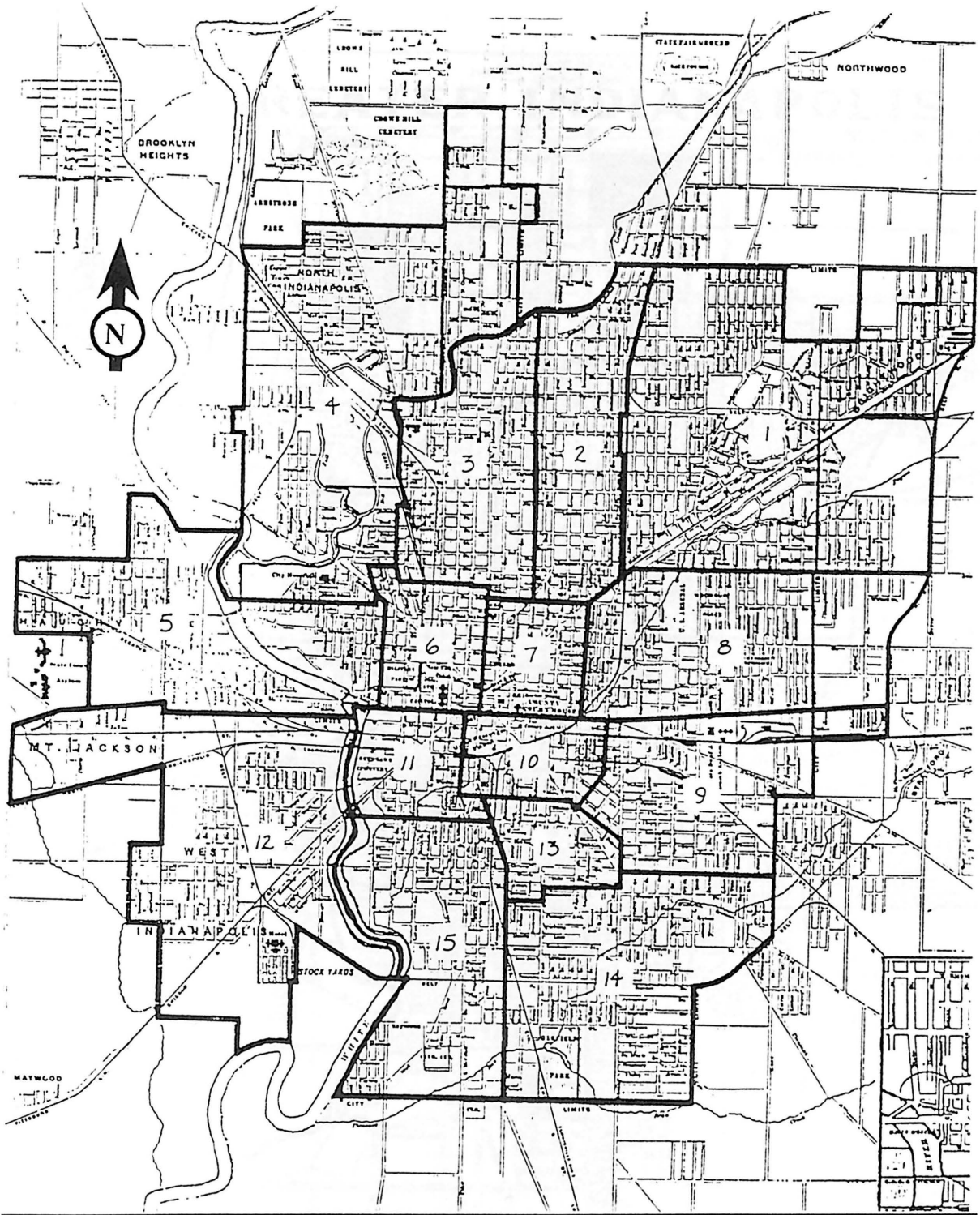
Appendix B: Ward Populations and Boundaries, 1900-1920

Table B.1: African-American Population of Indianapolis by Ward, 1900-1920

	City	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1900 total	169,164	14,842	13,539	15,479	11,611	14,213	**11,816**	10,769	13,195	11,847	6,999	6,999	8,037	9,371	9,341	11,106
Black	15,931	2,033	675	3,446	2,162	1,613	**2,609**	746	394	252	317	262	230	228	636	328
% Black	9.4%	13.7%	5.0%	22.3%	18.6%	11.3%	**22.1%**	6.9%	3.0%	2.1%	4.5%	3.7%	2.9%	2.4%	6.8%	3.0%
(Ward boundaries redrawn between 1900 and 1910.)																
1910 total	233,650	20,012	14,808	14,104	22,985	**10,782**	9,953	13,015	11,297	23,307	20,140	13,988	10,517	19,576	10,943	18,223
Black	21,816	2,941	899	3,920	3,141	**3,497**	2,549	788	1,053	500	851	291	296	272	300	518
% Black	9.3%	14.7%	6.1%	27.8%	13.7%	**32.4%**	25.6%	6.1%	9.3%	2.1%	4.2%	2.1%	2.8%	1.4%	2.7%	2.8%
1920 total	314,194	29,029	20,145	16,895	44,689	**12,166**	10,089	14,913	15,018	38,264	28,508	13,821	9,286	22,637	14,481	24,253
Black	34,678	5,079	2,392	6,128	4,782	**5,857**	3,103	921	1,335	539	1,803	379	524	380	456	1,000
% Black	11.0%	17.5%	11.9%	36.3%	10.7%	**48.1%**	30.8%	6.2%	8.9%	1.4%	6.3%	2.7%	5.6%	1.7%	3.1%	4.1%

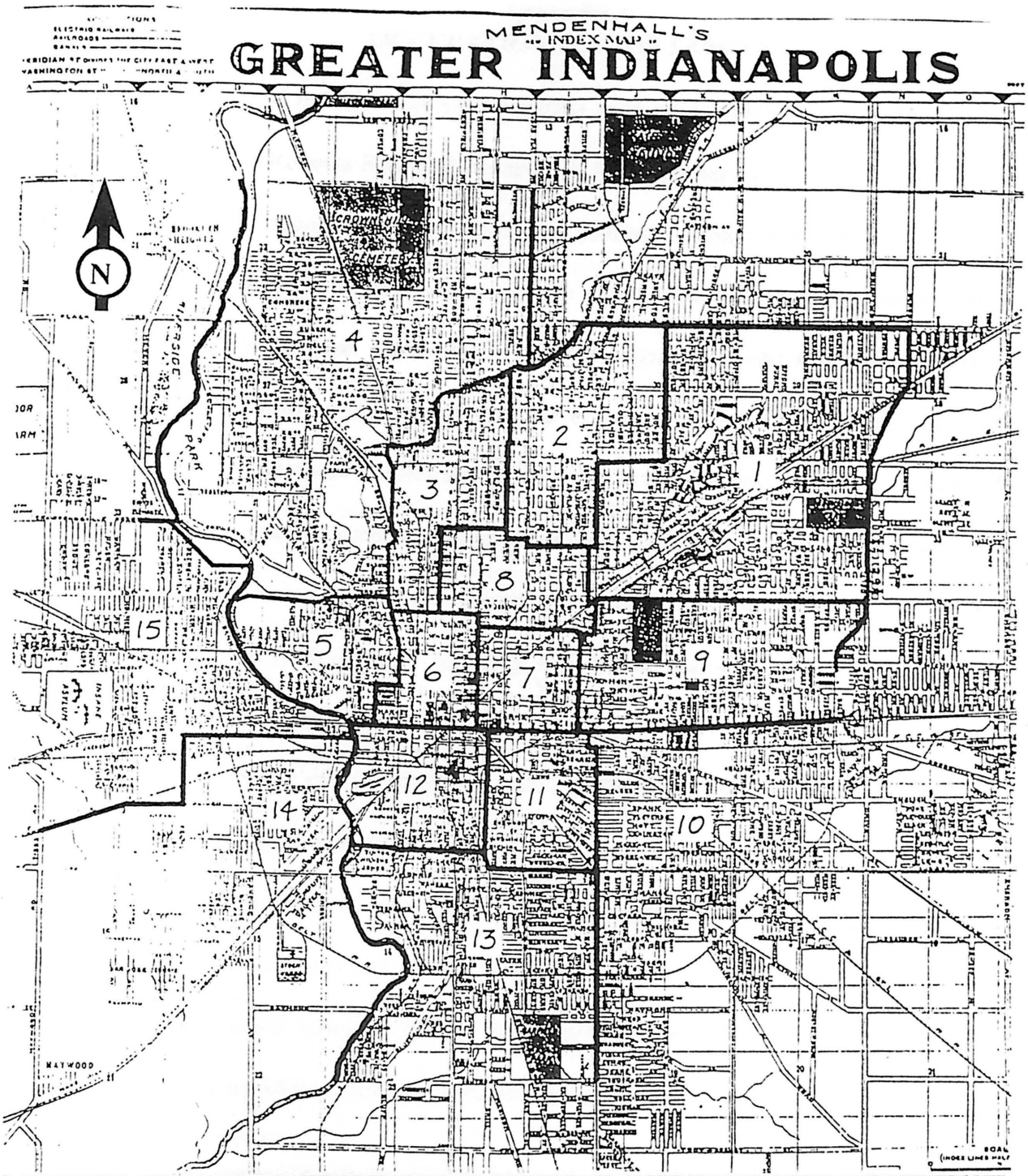
(Ransom Place in Ward 6 in 1900 and Ward 5 in 1910 and 1920.)

Source: Twelfth Census, 1900, I: 615; Thirteenth Census, 1910, II:574; Fourteenth Census, 1920, III:308.



Map 5:
Ward Boundaries, 1900
(Ransom Place is in the northwest corner of Ward 6.)

Source: James Divita, "Ethnic Settlement Patterns In Indianapolis," Map 12.



Map 6:
Ward Boundaries, 1910 & 1920 (Ransom Place is in northeast corner of Ward 5.)

Source: James Divita, "Ethnic Settlement Patterns In Indianapolis," Map 15.

Appendix C
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

I modelled my divisions on categories used by Kenneth Kusmer, Joe William Trotter, Jr., and Roberta Senechal because all three attempt to classify occupations held by African-Americans in the early twentieth century. Trotter also considered black women's occupations, which most studies do not. I also consulted the classification schemes used by Stephan Thernstrom, Theodore Hershberg, and Robert Dockhorn, which proved useful in placing many of the occupations of white residents.[1] However, a number of occupations did not appear in these examples, and sometimes I had to make educated guesses based on descriptions found in other sources. For example, the Bureau of the Census published a glossary describing different types of manufacturing jobs found in the 1900 census. Although this was not as helpful as I would have hoped I did learn, for instance, that in the printing industry a "paper ruler" is "a skilled man who has charge of a machine that rules blank paper," while the machine feeders are "boys and girls of little skill."[2]

I found in trying to classify the various occupations listed in the manuscript census that I perhaps had too much information! Unlike Trotter and Kusmer, who dealt with published summary data of African-American occupations for the entire city, already consolidated into occupational groups, I had person-by-person

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[1] Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape, 275-280; Trotter, Black Milwaukee, 245-263; Senechal, Sociogenesis of a Race Riot, 207, 211; Stephan Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 290-302; Theodore Hershberg and Robert Dockhorn, "Occupational Classification," Historical Methods Newsletter 9 (March/June 1976):59-81.

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900--Special Reports: Employees and Wages (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 1167-1204.

information. For example, in 1910 and 1920, most people with an occupation also had recorded whether they worked as wage-earners (w), employers (em), or on their own account (oa).[3]

Thus, a barber might be someone who ran his own shop with employees, worked on his own account, or worked in someone else's shop. Trotter classified all barbers as proprietors, while other historians placed them in the skilled group. I could see from my data that I could not fit all of the barbers in the neighborhood into just one category. My solution has been to consider those who employed other people or those designated as having their "own shop" as "proprietors." All others I categorized as "skilled." This strategy also applies to some other occupations, such as tailor, presser, and hairdresser.

For some residents, I had additional information such as newspaper advertisements or city directory listings for their businesses. Thus John A. Puryear, whose occupation is variously listed as "transfer--moving" (1900), "proprietor/transfer" (1910), and "transfer/hauling" (1920), I categorized as a proprietor in all three years since other sources show that he ran a moving company. Another man listed as a "transfer man" I classified in the "unskilled" category because I did not have any other information on him.

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[3] The census instructions defined "employer" as "one who employs helpers, other than domestic servants, in transacting his own business. The term employer does not include the superintendent, agent, manager or other person employed to manage an establishment or business." An "employee" was "any person who works for wages or a salary and is subject to the control and direction of an employer, . . .whether he be president of a large corporation or only a day laborer, whether he be paid in money or in kind, and whether he be employed by his own parent or another." People "who have a gainful occupation and are neither employers nor employees are considered to be working on their own account. They are the independent workers. They neither pay nor receive salaries or regular wages." 200 Years of U.S. Census Taking, 53.

Professional/Proprietor

Because of the relatively small size of the population of Ransom Place, I ended up linking the categories of professionals and proprietors together. Following Trotter and Kusmer, I categorized ministers, doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers, social workers, pharmacists, musicians, and nurses listed as "trained" or working in hospitals as professionals. I also included some civil service occupations such as "chief of detectives," "officer/juvenile court," and "superintendent/ special delivery" (for the post office) in the professional category, since these white-collar occupations did not fit into the other white-collar category of clerical work and sales. Proprietors included those listed specifically as proprietors, manufacturers, merchants, dealers, grocers, wholesalers, undertakers, and in 1910 and 1920 those skilled workers, such as barbers, who employed others.

Clerical/Sales

I considered a clerical or sales worker anyone listed as a clerk, agent, salesman or saleslady, solicitor, or collector. Inspectors and postal workers also fell into this category since these jobs required literacy to write reports or read addresses. This category also included managers (thus differentiating them from proprietors) and various office jobs such as bookkeepers, proofreaders, stenographers, and telephone and telegraph operators. Many of these jobs required at least some secondary school education, and for those that involved working with the public, employers might emphasize physical appearance and diction when hiring.

Personal and Domestic Service

I have the separate category of "Personal and Domestic Service" because a large percentage of the African-American population held jobs in this area that were different from the unskilled labor positions held by white residents of Ransom Place. I classified these occupations according to the census reports from the time period, which, in addition to servants, maids, and other domestic servants, included janitors, elevator operators, bartenders, waiters, and porters not working in stores in this category. I did make exceptions where occupations better fit into my other categories. For example, I listed barbers as "skilled" (unless they employed others) and boarding house, saloon, and restaurant keepers as "proprietors."

In 1910 and 1920 the census had an "industry" category that provided additional information about whether the individual worked for a private family or for a business. Following Trotter and the Bureau of the Census, I considered laundresses who worked for private families or took in laundry at home in "domestic service" while those working in laundry shops I classified as semi-skilled workers. Similarly, I considered porters working on the railroad or in hotels or clubs in "service," but I listed porters in stores under unskilled labor.

Although not necessarily one of the criteria, the opportunity to receive extra income or in-kind payments through tips or "toting privileges" also differentiated many of the service jobs from work in the unskilled category.

Skilled/Semi-skilled/Unskilled

Because the census information often listed very specific occupational terms that are not commonly used outside of certain industries or had different meanings in the early twentieth century than they do now, differentiation between these categories was sometimes difficult. Again I depended on previous classifications, especially Trotter, Thernstrom, and Hershberg and Dockhorn, for my decisions to place workers such as iron molders and cupola tenders in the skilled category and expressmen and hod carriers in the unskilled.

Skilled labor included craftsmen or people with craft-related job titles who worked in factories, such as carpenters, painters, and finishers. I categorized most specific industrial or craft job titles as skilled and listed people described only by "laborer," "helper," or "hand" as unskilled.

Based on Trotter and Thernstrom, the "semi-skilled" category holds occupations such as policeman, fireman (for the fire department), and soldier, as well as those that seemed to fall between the skilled and unskilled categories. For example, apprentices in skilled trades I considered semi-skilled. Drivers in 1910 and 1920 I put in the semi-skilled category because automobiles were not yet as common as they are today. A driver at the auto track, however, I listed as skilled because he drove a more specialized vehicle. I did make a change from previous historians' classifications by considering dressmakers skilled rather than semi-skilled workers. (This came after a conversation with Suzanne Hayes Fischer, a public historian who makes historical costumes from the period. She said that dress styles before 1920 required as much

skill in cutting and sewing as men's tailoring would. She agreed with me that seamstresses would be considered semi-skilled workers since their work in alterations and repairs was generally not as complicated as a dressmaker's.)

Table C.1:

Number and Percentage of Ransom Place Residents (Age 10 or Older) for Whom an Occupation Was Reported in the Census, 1900-1920

	Neighborhood Total			Black Residents			White Residents		
	Total	Occupation Reported		Total	Occupation Reported		Total	Occupation Reported	
1900									
Females aged 10+	327	71	**22%**	47	7	**15%**	280	64	**23%**
aged 10-17	40	6	**15%**	5	0	**0%**	35	6	**17%**
aged 18+	287	65	**23%**	42	7	**17%**	245	58	**24%**
Males aged 10+	309	271	**88%**	48	42	**88%**	261	229	**88%**
aged 10-17	53	26	**49%**	8	3	**38%**	45	23	**51%**
aged 18+	256	245	**96%**	40	39	**98%**	216	206	**95%**
1910									
Females aged 10+	327	118	**36%**	217	91	**42%**	110	27	**25%**
aged 10-17	46	8	**17%**	31	3	**10%**	15	5	**33%**
aged 18+	281	110	**39%**	186	88	**47%**	95	22	**23%**
Males aged 10+	309	270	**87%**	206	181	**88%**	103	89	**86%**
aged 10-17	36	10	**28%**	26	6	**23%**	10	4	**40%**
aged 18+	273	260	**95%**	180	175	**97%**	93	85	**91%**
1920									
Females aged 10+	402	174	**43%**	381	167	**44%**	21	7	**33%**
aged 10-17	40	6	**15%**	39	5	**13%**	1	1	**100%**
aged 18+	362	168	**46%**	342	162	**47%**	20	6	**30%**
Males aged 10+	349	304	**87%**	335	294	**88%**	14	10	**71%**
aged 10-17	32	5	**16%**	31	5	**16%**	1	0	**0%**
aged 18+	317	299	**94%**	304	289	**95%**	13	10	**77%**

Source: Federal manuscript census data for 1900, 1910, and 1920

1900 Census	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Row total
Black Males	4	3	10	6	0	19	42
White Males	21	40	8	108	9	43	229
Black Females	1	0	5	0	1	0	7
White Females	6	15	10	22	11	0	64

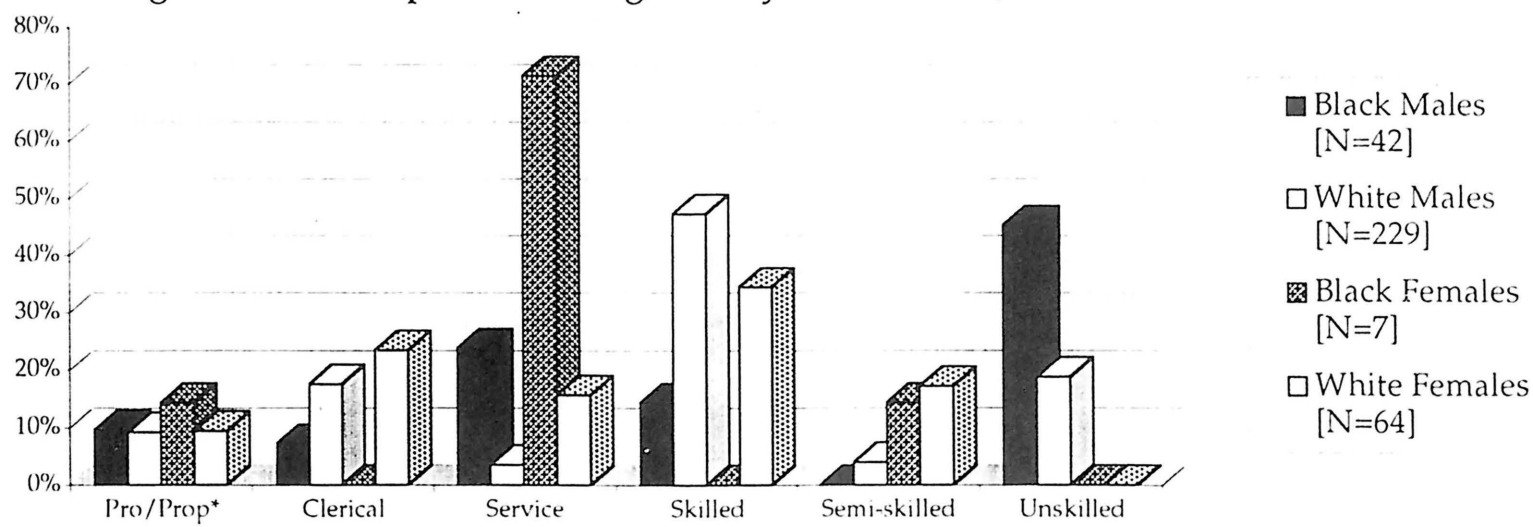
Percentages

1900 Census	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
Black Males [N=42]	10%	7%	24%	14%	0%	45%
White Males [N=229]	9%	17%	3%	47%	4%	19%
Black Females [N=7]	14%	0%	71%	0%	14%	0%
White Females [N=64]	9%	23%	16%	34%	17%	0%

* Professional and Proprietor

Source: Federal manuscript census data for 1900

Figure C.1: Occupational categories by race and sex, 1900



1900
BLACK MALES

Professional/Proprietary (4)
merchant/gent's furnishings (1)
musician (1)
preacher (1)
transfer - moving (1)
(John A. Puryear)

Clerical/Sales (3)
grand secretary/secret order
railway postal clerk (1)
salesman/clothing (1)

Personal or Domestic Service (10)
cook (1)
elevator conductor (1)
janitor (3)
porter (2)
waiter/hotel (3)

Skilled (6)
barber (3)
blacksmith (1)
plasterer (1)
stationary engineer (1)

Semi-Skilled (0)
<<none>>

Unskilled (19)
day laborer (4)
laborer — iron works or foundry (2)
junk shop (1)
[unspecified] (2)
expressman (2)
hod carrier (4)
teamster (3)
transfer man (1)

1900
WHITE MALES

Professional/Proprietary (21)
druggist/pharmacist (3)
grocer (3)
hardware dealer (2)
ice dealer (1)
manufacturer/ice boxes (1)
meat dealer (1)
piano instructor (1)
shoe dealer (1)
trunk manufacturer (1)
wholesaler (2)
city street commissioner (1)
saloon keeper/saloonist (3)
chief of detectives (1)

Clerical/Sales (40)
agent (2)
wine agent (1)
purchasing agent (1)
salesman (13)
trav. salesman (3)
solicitor/newspaper (1)
bookkeeper (2)
carrier P.O. (1)
clerk (7)
railroad clerk (1)
shipping clerk (1)
collector (2)
inspector/city streets (1)
manager/distr. tel. (1)
proofreader (1)
stenographer (1)
telegraph operator (1)

Personal or Domestic Service (8)
messenger [boy] (3)
bartender (1)
elev. operator (2)
laundryman (2)

Skilled (108)
baker (1)
barber (3)
bicycle repair (2)
blacksmith (2)
bookbinder (3)
brass finisher (2)
finisher/carpenter works (1)
broom maker (2)
butcher (1)
cabinet maker (1)
carpenter (9)
carriage cushion maker (1)
chair backer/chair fac. (1)
cigar maker (2)
compositor (1)
copper smelter (1)
cooper (1)
cutter/tailoring co. (1)
electrician (2)
engineer [not specified] (5)
stationary engineer (1)
farmer (1)
foreman (3)
street foreman (1)
gasfitter (1)
iron molder (5)
machinist (10)
mattress maker (3)
spring bed maker (1)
spring hooker/mattress fac.(1)
spring turner/factory (1)
meat dresser/pack.hs. (1)
miller--flour (1)
millwright (2)
house painter (3)
painter (2)
paper ruler (1)
pressman (2)
piano tuner (1)
plasterer (2)
plumber (5)

1900 White males

Skilled (cont'd)

sash & door maker (1)
wood pattern maker (1)
shoe maker (2)
stair builder (1)
stereotyper (1)
tailor (3)
telephone lineman (1)
tinner (2)
trunk maker (1)
typesetter (2)
upholsterer (2)
yardmaster/RR (1)

Semi-Skilled (9)

apprentice [skilled trades](4)
press feeder (1)
special police (1)
policeman (1)
merchant police (1)
soldier (1)

Unskilled (43)

day laborer (10)
farm laborer (3)
laborer
- packing house (4)
- foundry (3)
- gas company (2)
- pump works (2)
- chair factory (1)
- furniture store (1)
- rail road (1)
- street (1)

night watchman (2)
teamster (5)
delivery man (1)
expressman (3)
fireman [unspecified](1)
machine hand (1)
offbearer/print. press (1)
packer/furniture (1)

1900
BLACK FEMALES

Professional/Proprietary (1)
teacher/school (1)

Clerical/Sales (0)
<<none>>

Personal or Domestic Service (5)
house cleaner (1)
laundry (1)
servant (2)
shampooist (1)

Skilled
<<none>>

Semi-Skilled (1)
seamstress (1)

Unskilled (0)
<<none>>

1900
WHITE FEMALES

Professional/Proprietary (6)
boarding house keeper (2)
grocer (1)
music teacher (1)
teacher/school (2)

Clerical/Sales (15)
bookkeeper (2)
cashier (1)
clerk (2)
telephone operator (2)
saleswoman (3)
stenographer (4)
inspector/seamstress (1)

Personal or Domestic Service (10)
laundry woman (3)
servant (5)
hairdresser (1)
nurse [unspecified](1)

Skilled (22)
bookbinder (1)
cake baker (1)
chainer/chain mfy. (1)
confectioner (1)
dressmaker (5)
hatmaker (1)
meat cutter/packing hs. (1)
milliner (6)
weaver/mattress factory (1)
mattress maker (1)
shirtwaist maker (1)
spring bed maker (2)

Semi-Skilled (11)
hat trimmer (1)
feeder/cotton mill (1)
assorter/garments (1)
labeler/packing hs. (1)
seamstress (6)
sewer for furrier (1)

Unskilled (0)
<<none>>

1910 Census	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Row total
Black Males	28	9	58	21	6	59	181
White Males	15	11	8	36	7	12	89
Black Females	14	4	68	2	3	0	91
White Females	4	6	4	2	10	1	27

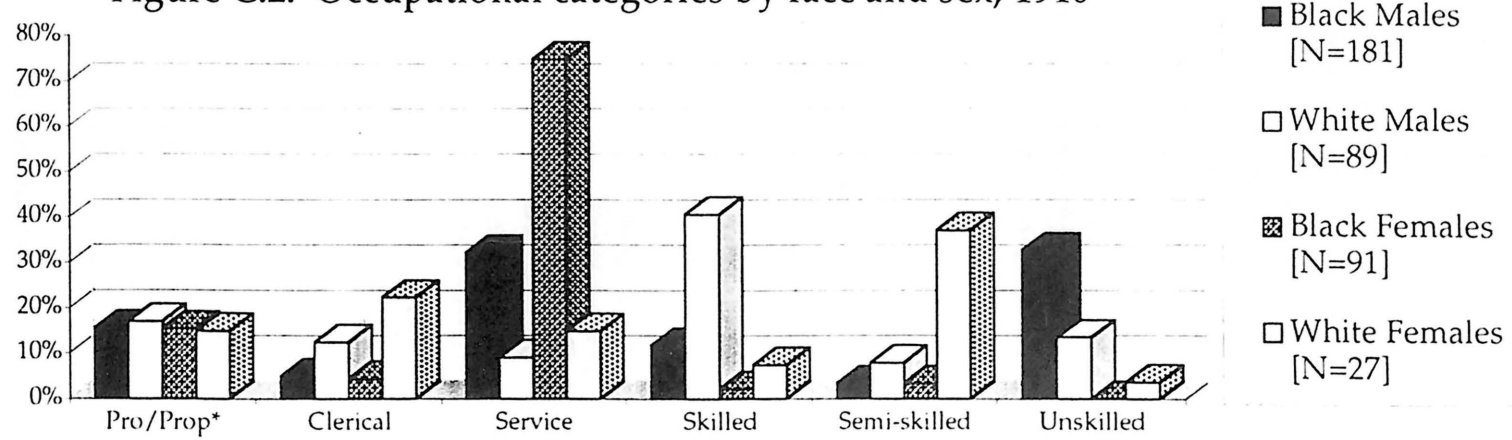
Percentages

1910 Census	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
Black Males [N=181]	15%	5%	32%	12%	3%	33%
White Males [N=89]	17%	12%	9%	40%	8%	13%
Black Females [N=91]	15%	4%	75%	2%	3%	0%
White Females [N=27]	15%	22%	15%	7%	37%	4%

* Professional and Proprietor

Source: Federal manuscript census data for 1910

Figure C.2: Occupational categories by race and sex, 1910



1910

BLACK MALES

Professional/Proprietary (28)

American minister to Haiti (1)
barber/own shop (3)
cement contractor/street (2)
clergyman/minister (8)
lawyer (2)
manufacturer/factory (1)
musician (2)
pharmacist (1)
physician (1)
proprietor/transfer&storage (1)
rug cleaner/own shop (1)
supt. special delivery-PO (1)
teacher/school (2)
undertaker (2)

Clerical/Sales (9)

collector/publish hs. (1)
inspector/lumberyard (1)
office man/law office (1)
postal clerk (3)
salesman (1)
trav. sales (1)
stenographer/courthouse (1)

Personal or Domestic Service (58)

bellboy (1)
chauffeur/private family (1)
cleaner/private family (2)
coachman/private family (2)
cook (4)
custodian (3)
elevator boy (3)
errands/store (1)
houseman (1)
janitor (15)
laborer/private family
porter [not in store or factory] (13)
saloonman (1-w)
waiter (9)
wine steward (1)

Skilled (21)

bricklayer (1-w; 1-oa)
dry cleaner (1)
engineer/factory (1)
gasfitter (1)
plasterer (1-w; 1-oa)
tanner/factory (1)
barber (6-w)
fisherman/river (1-oa)
foreman/foundry
painter/house (1-w; 1-oa)
shoemaker (1-oa)
tailor (1)
presser/tailor shop (1)

Semi-Skilled (6)

cement worker/street (1)
driver (3) [not for family]
ironworker/foundry (1)
soldier (1)

Unskilled (59)

benchhand (2)
cleaner/auto shop (1)
laborer
- street (7)
- odd jobs (6)
- foundry (3)
- factory [unspecified] (3)
- lumberyard (2)
- freight house (2)
- pork/poultry house (2)
- saw works (1)
- street car shop (1)
- bridge work (1)
- building (1)
- cemetery (1)

fireman/factory (2)
helper/transfer wagon (1)
delivery boy (2)
hod carrier (4)
packer/pickle factory (1)
porter [store/factory] (11)
teamster/factory (1)
transfer/street (1-oa)
watchman (2)
yardman/factory (1)

1910
WHITE MALES

Professional/Proprietary (15)
barber/own shop (1)
carpenter/own shop (1)
contractor (3-em)
clergyman (1)
commission/own place (1)
druggist/own store (1)
grocer (1)
hardware dealer (2)
plumber/own shop (1)
shoemaker/own shop (2)
teacher/school (1)

Clerical/Sales (11)
agent/street (1)
bookkeeper (2)
clerk/courthouse (1)
counter clerk (1)
grocery clerk (1)
inspector/city (1)
salesman (3)
timekeeper (1)

Personal or Domestic Service (8)
cook (2)
errand boy (1)
elevator man (1)
gardener/private houses (1)
janitor (1)
saloonman (2-w)

Skilled (36)
barber (2-w; 1-oa)
billcutter/factory (1)
blacksmith/iron shop (1)
bookbinder/factory (3)
butcher (3)
carpenter (2)
chair maker/factory (1)
cigar maker/factory (2)
engineer/factory (2)
glue maker/factory (1)
foreman (2)
harness maker (1)
machinist (3)
millwright/flour mill (1)
molder/foundry (1)
pattern maker/foundry (1)
plumber (1)
painter (4-w; 2-oa)
yardmaster/railroad (1)

Semi-Skilled (7)
conductor/street car (1)
driver (4)
fireman/city (2)

Unskilled (12)
delivery boy (1)
laborer
- electric plant (1)
- farm (1)
- hardware store (1)
- lumberyard (1)
- odd jobs (1)
- street (1)

teamster (1)
newsboy/street (1-oa)
machine hand (2)
yardman/coal yard (1)

1910
BLACK FEMALES

Professional/Proprietary (14)
retail poultry/own business(1)
teacher/school (11)
trained nurse/pvt.family (1)
pianist/public halls (1-w)

Clerical/Sales (4)
agent/hosiery (1)
bookkeeper (2)
stenographer (1)

Personal or Domestic Service (68)
cateress (1-w)
cook (6)
domestic (3)
dust girl (1)
hired girl/private family (1)
house girl (12)
housekeeper (1)
housework (5)
laundress [pvt. family or house]
(30-w; 2-oa)
maid/dept store (1)
manicurist (1-w; 1-oa)
nurse/pvt.family (1-oa)
servant (1)
waitress (1)

Skilled (2)
dressmaker/house (1-w; 1-oa)

Semi-Skilled (3)
seamstress (2)
laundress/shop (1)

Unskilled (0)
<<none>>

1910
WHITE FEMALES

Professional/Proprietary (4)
grocery (1)
teacher/school (1)
music teacher/pvt.family (1)
dressmaker/own shop (1)

Clerical/Sales (6)
bookkeeper (2)
cashier (1)
telephone operator/girl (2)
stenographer (1)

Personal or Domestic Service (4)
hairdresser (1-oa)
housework (1)
laundress/pvt. family (1)
nurse/pvt. family (1-oa)

Skilled (2)
forelady/factory (1)
barber (1-w)

Semi-Skilled (10)
finisher/shirt factory (1)
laundress/shop (7)
press girl/factory (1)
seamstress/factory (1)

Unskilled (1)
laborer/drug factory (1)

1920 Census	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Row total
Black Males	34	13	49	53	13	132	294
White Males	4	0	0	2	2	2	10
Black Females	19	15	118	8	5	2	167
White Females	5	1	1	0	0	0	7

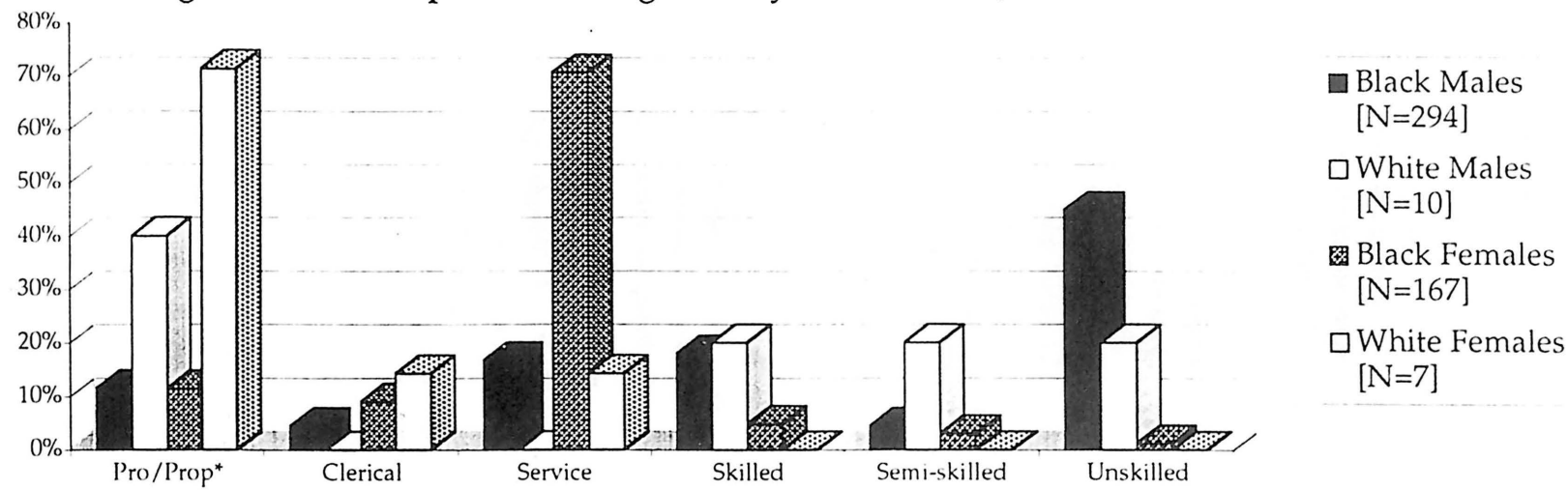
Percentages

1920 Census	Pro/Prop*	Clerical	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
Black Males [N=294]	12%	4%	17%	18%	4%	45%
White Males [N=10]	40%	0%	0%	20%	20%	20%
Black Females [N=167]	11%	9%	71%	5%	3%	1%
White Females [N=7]	71%	14%	14%	0%	0%	0%

* Professional and Proprietor

Source: Federal manuscript census data for 1920.

Figure C.3: Occupational categories by race and sex, 1920



1920
BLACK MALES

Professional/Proprietary (34)
asst. principal/school (1)
attorney/lawyer (6)
barber [employer] (1)
contractor (2-w; 1-oa)
dealer/coal (2)
dealer/junk (1)
dealer/poultry (1)
dentist (2)
minister (4)
musician (1-w; 1-em)
physician (3)
presser/tailor shop [employer] (2)
proprietor/grocery (1)
teacher/school (2)
supervisor/school (1)
undertaker (1)
transfer/hauling [John Puryear] (1)

Clerical/Sales (13)
clerk (5)
shipping clerk (1)
inspector/hides (1)
letter carrier (2)
mail carrier/govt. (3)
salesman (1)

Personal or Domestic Service (49)
chauffeur/pvt.family (2)
chef (3)
cook/hotel (1)
custodian/city hall (1)
head bellman/hotel (1)
houseman (4)
janitor (16)
messenger (2)
porter [not in store/factory] (9)
servant (1)
steward/railroad (1)
waiter (8)

Skilled (53)
baker (1)
barber (4-w; 4-oa)
baseball player (1)
blacksmith/drop forge (1)
blueprinter/art store (1)
butcher/packing hs (2)
carpenter (3)
cupola man/foundry (1)
cupola tender/foundry (1)
driver/auto track (1)
finisher/cement (2)
finisher/marble (1)
heater/drop forge (2)
machinist (3)
mechanic-auto/motor (3)
molder/foundry (11)
plasterer (1)
plateformer/Prest-o-lite (1)
plumber (2)
printer/newspaper (1)
tile worker (1)
presser/shop (1-w; 1-oa)
saw filer/saw works (2)
tubesetter/ice plant (1)

Semi-Skilled (13)
dep. sheriff (1)
fireman/station (1)
policeman/city (2)
chauffeur [businesses] (5)
driver [businesses] (2)
trucker/packing hs.(1)
treecutter (1-oa)

BLACK MALES (1920 cont'd)

Unskilled (132)

delivery/store (1)
fireman [unspecified or factory] (3)
helper/foundry (2)
hod carrier (5)
laborer
- general/unspecified (16)
- packing house (15)
- foundry/iron works (14)
- automobile co./mfg. (8)
- construction (6)
- railroad (6)
- coal co./yard (4)
- saw mill/works (4)
- bakery (2)
- drop forge (2)
- engine co. (2)
- glass factory (2)
- glue factory (2)
- building (1)
- broom mfg. (1)
- city streets (1)
- farm (1)
- flour mill (1)
- freight house (1)
- gas plant (1)
- hotel (1)
- ice plant (1)
- light plant (1)
- pickle factory (1)
- plumbing (1)
- printing office (1)
- starch factory (1)
- street car co. (1)

night watch (2)
porter [store/factory] (15)
stockman/dry goods store (1)
teamster (1-w; 1-oa)
transfer/hauling (1-w; 1-oa)
weigher/packing hs (1)

Category unknown (2)

supply man (2)

1920
WHITE MALES

Professional/Proprietary (4)
printer [employer] (1)
proprietor/store (2)
shoemaker/company [employer] (1)

Clerical/Sales (0)
<<none>>

Personal or Domestic Service (0)
<<none>>

Skilled (2)
machinist/engine co. (1)
steamfitter (1)

Semi-Skilled (2)
fireman/city FD (1)
nightwatch (1)

Unskilled (2)
laborer/general (1)
teamster (1)

1920
BLACK FEMALES

Professional/Proprietary (19)
hairdresser [employer] (1)
nurse/hospital (1)
officer/juvenile court (1)
principal/school (1)
proprietor (4)
teacher (10)
undertaker (1)

Clerical/Sales (15)
bookkeeper (2)
clerk (4)
matron/shoe store (1)
office girl (1)
saleslady (2)
secretary (2)
stenographer (2)
commercial traveler/drug house (1)

Personal or Domestic Service (118)
bus girl/restaurant (1)
cateress/pvt.family (7)
cook (14)
elevator operator (3)
hairdresser (2-oa)
housekeeper or housework (40)
janitress (1)
laundress [at home/pvt. family]
(16-w; 3-oa)
maid (23)
manicurist/barber shop (1)
nurse [pvt. family/school] (3)
servant (1)
shopper for dressmaker (1)
waitress (2)

Skilled (8)
baker (2)
dressmaker (2-w; 1-oa)
meat cutter/packing hs (1)
presser/tailor shop (2)

Semi-Skilled (5)
seamstress (3-w; 1-oa)
laundress/laundry (1)

Unskilled (2)
laborer/packing hs. (1)
wrapper/packing hs. (1)

1920
WHITE FEMALES

Professional/Proprietary (5)
druggist (1-em)
proprietor/grocery (1)
teacher/school (1)
social work/settlement hs (2)

Clerical/Sales (1)
clerk/drugstore (1)

Personal or Domestic Service (1)
housework/pvt. family (1)

Skilled (0)
<<none>>

Semi-Skilled (0)
<<none>>

Unskilled (0)
<<none>>

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1993-present — Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis (IUPUI), M.A. in Public History, expected January 1996.

1986-1990 — University of Virginia, B.A. in Archaeology, minor in Studio Art.

WORK EXPERIENCE:

National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.:

January 1992 - June 1993 — **Audience Researcher, *Science in American Life* Exhibition.** Developed and carried out visitor studies. Observed and interviewed museum visitors. Built and tested mock-ups of exhibit components, including text, graphics and hands-on activities. Provided exhibition development team with written and oral reports on visitors' views and understanding of science and its history. Organized museum's audience research files. Used database and desktop publishing programs. Full-time. Supervisors: D.D. Hilke and Elizabeth M. Sharpe.

June 1991 - January 1992 — **Administrative Assistant, *Science in American Life* Exhibition.** Organized and maintained exhibits and visitor response records for Hands-On Science Preview Area. Office manager for Hands-On Science and Curriculum Project staff. Coordinated travel and meetings for staff and teacher resource teams. Used word processing and spread sheet programs. Full-time. Supervisors: D.D. Hilke and Lynn Dierking.

February - May 1991 — **Administrative Assistant, *Common Agenda for History Museums* Project, (American Association for State and Local History).** Researched proposal for exhibition on history and its presentation in museums while providing administrative support to project. Half-time. Supervisor: Mary Alexander.

GRANTS, INTERNSHIPS, AND VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE:

Current — **Museum Assistant, Morris-Butler House Museum, Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana**, Indianapolis. Conduct museum tours and assist with public programs and collections management. Part-time. Supervisor: Tiffany Sallee.

June to October 1995 — **Researcher, Indiana Heritage Research Grant for the Morris-Butler House Museum.** Researched history of the grounds of the Morris-Butler House in preparation for an archaeological dig. Prepared report suggesting possible sites for excavation and interpretation guide for the yard of a Victorian home. Half-time. Supervisor: Tiffany Sallee.

September 1994 to May 1995 — **Curatorial Intern, Morris-Butler House Museum**. Organized and updated catalogue records while inventorying collection of over 3,500 objects in a Victorian house museum. Other duties included creating better storage conditions, identifying and numbering artifacts, photographing objects and exhibits, and conducting tours of the house. Half-time. Supervisor: Tiffany Sallee.

June - August 1994 — **Intern, Schroeder Saddletree Factory Project, Historic Madison Foundation, Inc.**,Madison, Indiana. Researched lives of factory workers and their families. Assisted in the photographing, identification, removal and cleaning of artifacts from historic factory site. Assisted in conducting tours of the site. Half-time. Supervisor: John Staicer.

September - December 1993 — **Collections Intern, Children's Museum of Indianapolis.** Assisted in the cataloguing, researching, shelving, and deaccessioning of objects in "American Materials" collection. Used MIMSY-based computer catalogue program. Part-time. Supervisor: Sheila Riley.

September - December 1990 — **Intern, *Common Agenda for History Museums* Project, National Museum of American History (NMAH).** Researched and wrote on topics related to American history and history museum practice for grant proposals. Edited and proofread. Half-time. Supervisor: Mary Alexander.

September - December 1990 — **Intern, Audience Research Office, Education Division, NMAH.** Observed and interviewed museum visitors and reported on effectiveness of exhibitions. Maintained the Exhibition Preview Area, a public space used to collect visitor feedback on future exhibits. Half-time. Supervisor: D.D. Hilke

Summer 1988 — **Volunteer, National Museum of the Philippines,** Manila, Philippines. Worked in conservation lab learning ceramic cleaning and repair. Assisted in cataloging ethnic jewelry by measuring and drawing accessioned objects. Part-time. Supervisor: Rogelio Aquino.

Summer 1987 — **Volunteer, Casa Manila, Intramuros,** Manila, Philippines. Worked in Spanish colonial period house. Designed and crafted decorative borders for exhibition signs and assisted in cataloging textiles and decorative art. Part-time. Supervisor: Sandy Castro

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE:

August 1989 & January 1990 — **Temporary Crew Member, Engineering Science**, Washington, DC. Surveyed and excavated historic and prehistoric sites in Northern Virginia and Maryland for contract archaeology firm. Part-time, intermittent.

July 1989 — **Student Crew Member, University of Virginia Archaeological Field School.** Excavated at Rapidan Mound in Orange County, VA. Full-time. Supervisors: Jeffrey Hantman and Gary Dunham.

Fall 1988 — **Student Crew Member, Monticello**, Charlottesville, VA. Excavated on grounds of Thomas Jefferson's home for class in Historical Archaeology offered through the University of Virginia. Part-time. Supervisor: William Kelso.

HONORS AND AWARDS:

Indiana University: 1993-94 IUPUI Fellowship (awarded through university-wide competition).

University of Virginia: Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society), Intermediate Honors (1988), Echols Scholar, Dean's List all semesters, graduated with distinction.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS:

American Association of Museums
American Association for State and Local History
National Council on Public History
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